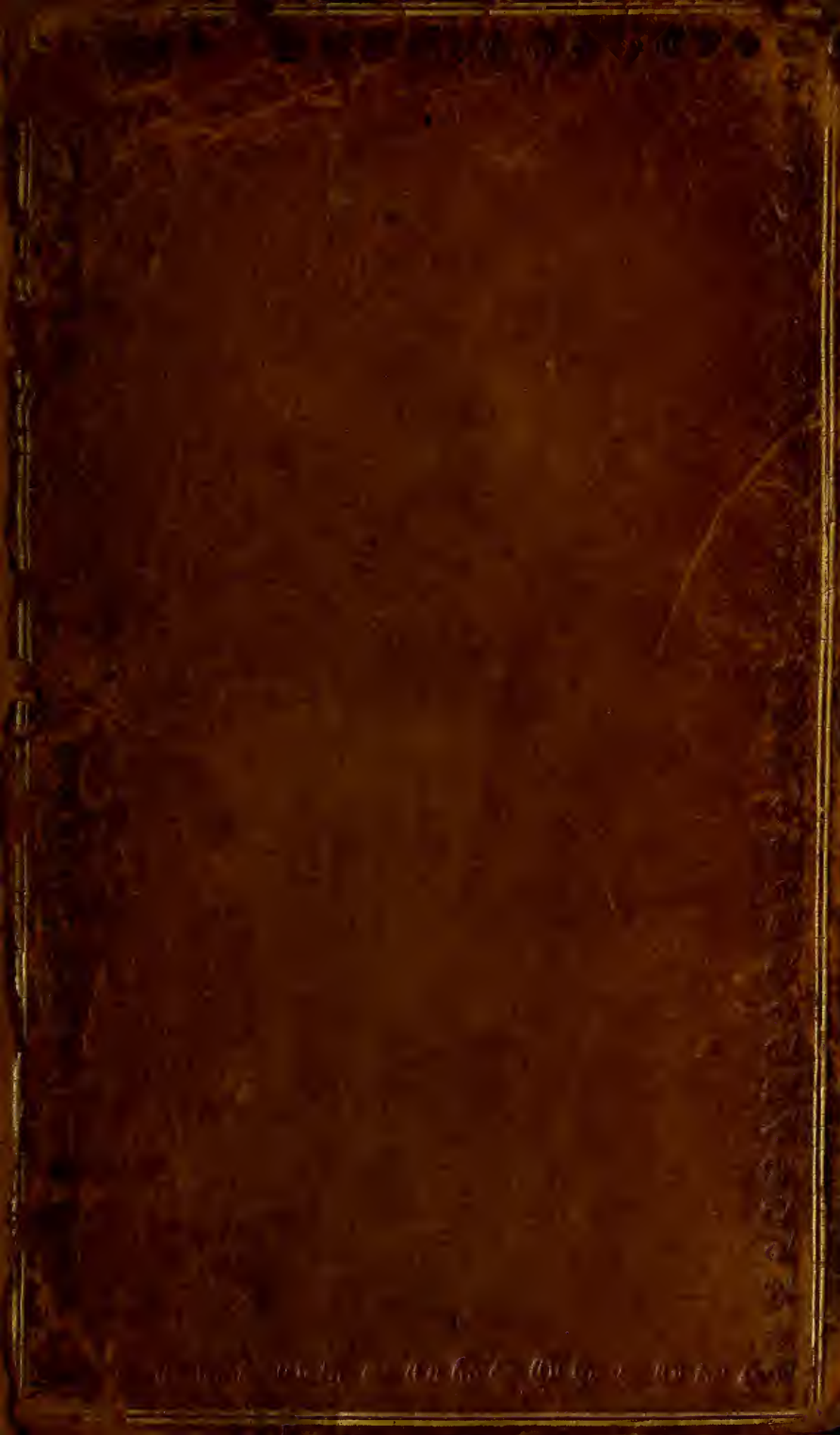




John Adams Library.



IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.



★ SHELF N^o ★
★ ADAMS ★

225.8

761.4











Vol. VII.

Cl. Du Bosc fecit

T H E

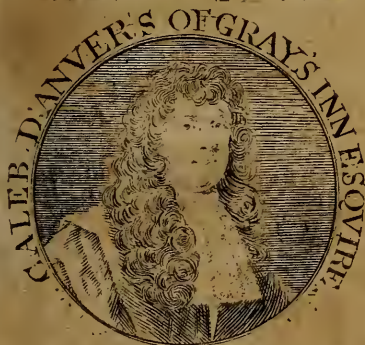
John Adams

CRAFTSMAN.

B Y

C A L E B D' A N V E R S,
of G R A Y' S - I N N, E s q;

V O L. VII.



L O N D O N. Printed for R. F R A N C K L I N, in
R u s s e l - S t r e e t, C o r n e t - G a r d e n. M, D C C, X X X I.

ADAMS 225, 8

07



T H E
CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 218. SATURDAY, *Sept.* 5, 1730.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

Mr. D'ANVERS,



SINCE the busy Scene of the Year is over at home, and we may perhaps wait several Months before the successful Negotiations of *France* furnish us with new Hopes of a general Pacification, and give you occasion to carry your Speculations forward, it may be proper enough for you to cast your Eyes backwards ; to reflect on your own Conduct ; and to call yourself to Account before your own Tribunal.

I am so much persuaded of the Integrity of your Intentions, that I do not in the least suspect you will think my Advice impertinent ; and therefore I shall attempt to lead your Thoughts on this Subject, by giving you an Account of some Parts of a Conversation, at which I happened to be present very lately.

Several of your Papers and several of Those, which have been written against you, lay before a Company, which often meets, rather to live than to drink together; according to that Distinction, which *Tully* makes to the Advantage of his own Nation over the *Greeks*. They dispute without Strife, and examine as dispassionately the Events and the Characters of the present Age, as they reason about Those, which are found in History. When I came in, a *Gentleman* was saying, that your Victories had been cheaply bought; and that he had not seen one Champion, able to break a Launce, enter the Lists against you; upon which some were ready to observe the Inconsistencies of humane Nature, and how hard it often proves to hire Men to avow and defend even That, which they are hired to act. Others were willing to hope that *Corruption* had not spread very wide, nor taken Root very deep amongst us. All agreed, that if your Papers could be suspected to be written in Opposition to the *present M—rs*, the feeble and low Opposition you have met with would deserve to be look'd upon as a very melancholy Symptom for them; since it would denote that their Cause was deemed universally bad; or that their Persons were grown universally odious among Men of Sense, Ingenuity and Knowledge. It would denote their *Guilt*, or their *Misfortune*; perhaps both.

Here one of the Company interposed, by observing very prudently, ' that any Thing so void of Probability, as not to fall even under Suspicion, was unworthy of farther Consideration. But, said he, whatever particular Views Mr. *D'Anvers* may have had, one general Effect, which I cannot approve, has followed from his *Writings*. We must remember that when he began to publish his weekly Lucubrations, universal Quiet prevailed, if not universal Satisfaction; for in what Place, or at what Time was the last ever found? Few People enquired; fewer grumbled;

' none

‘ none clamoured ; all acquiesced. Now the Humour
 ‘ of the Nation is altered. Every Man inquires with
 ‘ Eagerness and examines with Freedom. All Or-
 ‘ ders of Men are more intent than I ever observed
 ‘ them to be on the Course of publick Affairs ; and
 ‘ deliver their Judgments with less Reserve upon the
 ‘ most important. From this Alteration, for which
 ‘ the *Craftsman* is chiefly answerable, no good Con-
 ‘ sequence can, I think, proceed ; and it is visible that
 ‘ several Inconveniencies may.

To This many of us could by no Means assent. We apprehended that in a Country, circumstanced like ours, and under a Government constituted like ours, the People had a Right to be informed and to reason about publick Affairs ; that when wise and honest Measures are pursued, and the Nation reaps the Advantage of them, the Exercise of this Right will always be agreeable to the Men in Power ; that, indeed, if weak and wicked Measures are pursued, the Men in Power might find the Exercise of this Right disagreeable, inconvenient and sometimes dangerous to them ; but that, even in this Case, there would be no Pretence for attempting to deprive the People of this Right, or for discouraging the Exercise of it ; and that to forbid Men to complain, when they suffer, would be an Instance of Tyranny but one Degree below That, which the *Triumvirs* gave, during the Slaughter and Terror of the *Proscriptions* ; when by Edict they commanded all Men *to be merry upon Pain of Death*.

The *Person*, from whom we differed, brought us back to the particular Case of your Writings, Mr. *D’Anvers*. He endeavoured to support what he had said against them in this Manner.

‘ There was no good Reason for raising this *Spirit*,
 ‘ which I dislike, in the Nation, when the *Craftsman*
 ‘ began to write, or there was such a Reason. If
 ‘ there was none, why has he given so much Alarm ?

‘ If there was one, how has it come to pass that so
 ‘ great an Alarm has produced so little Effect? Will
 ‘ you say that he had very good Reason to rouse this
 ‘ *Spirit*, but that it has hitherto had no Opportunity
 ‘ of exerting itself? Or will you say that his Reasons
 ‘ were good and the Opportunity fair, but that the
 ‘ Minds of Men, which have been convinced by the
 ‘ former, have not yet been determined to improve
 ‘ the latter? I observe on all these Alternatives, that
 ‘ if there was no good, and even pressing Reason to
 ‘ raise such a *Spirit* in the Nation as I dislike, (because
 ‘ I expect no national Benefit, and I fear much In-
 ‘ conveniency from it) Mr. *D’Anvers* has acted a
 ‘ very wicked Part, and is little better than a *Sower of*
 ‘ *Sedition*.—If there was such a Reason, but no such
 ‘ Opportunity, he has acted a very weak Part, and is
 ‘ but a *shallow Politician*.—If there was such a Rea-
 ‘ son and such an Opportunity, but no Disposition in
 ‘ the Minds of Men to follow their Conviction, you
 ‘ may excuse your favourite Author, perhaps, by al-
 ‘ ledging that the Minds of Men are in the Power of
 ‘ God alone; but you will represent our national
 ‘ Condition to be more desperate than I ever thought
 ‘ it, or am yet willing to believe it.—Upon this Sup-
 ‘ position I affirm that Mr. *D’Anvers* is not to be ex-
 ‘ cused, if he continues to write; for if he cannot
 ‘ raise this Disposition by Persuasion, what does he
 ‘ aim at farther? I hope that he and you, who de-
 ‘ fend him, admire as much as I profess to do that
 ‘ divine Saying of PLATO; *we may endeavour to per-*
 ‘ *suade our Fellow-Citizens; but it is not lawful to*
 ‘ *force them even to That, which is best for them.*

Whilst all This passed, I took Notice that an *antient*
venerable Gentleman shew’d more Emotion, and great-
 er Impatience than I remember’d to have seen him
 ever express before. As soon as the *other* had con-
 cluded, he broke Silence in the following Manner.

‘ You

‘ You have endeavour’d to prove, Sir, that the
‘ *Craftsman* should not have begun to write ; or at
‘ least that he is inexcusable for continuing. Now I
‘ not only differ from you, but I differ from you upon
‘ the very Foundation, on which you have establish’d
‘ that whole Argument.

‘ The Face of Things was, I agree, as calm as you
‘ represent it to have been, when my honest Contem-
‘ porary *Caleb* took up his Pen. They were *balcyon*
‘ Days truly. We were not only *quiet*, but we seem-
‘ ed *implicit*, and dull Uniformity of *eternal Assent*
‘ prevailed in every Place. I agree that, since that
‘ Time, Things are very much altered. A *Ferment*,
‘ or *Spirit*, call it which you please, is rais’d ; but, I
‘ bless God, it is not the blind and furious *Spirit of*
‘ *Party*. It is a *Spirit*, which springs from Informa-
‘ tion and Conviction, that has diffus’d itself not only
‘ to all Orders of Men, as you observ’d, but to Men
‘ of all Denominations. Even They, who act against
‘ it, encourage it. You cannot call it *Torism*, when
‘ such Numbers of *independent Whigs* avow it. To
‘ call it *Whigism* would be improper likewise, when
‘ so many *Tories* concur in it. He, who should call
‘ it *Jacobitism*, would be too absurd to deserve an
‘ Answer. What is it then ? It is, I think, a Revi-
‘ val of the true old *English Spirit*, which prevail’d
‘ in the Days of our Fathers, and which must always
‘ be national, since it has no Direction but to the na-
‘ tional Interest ; *est jam una Vox omnium* ; and I
‘ hope we shall never have Occasion to add, *magis*
‘ *Odio firmata quam Præsidio*.

‘ *This Spirit* the *Craftsman* has contributed to
‘ raise ; and I affirm, in my turn, that supposing him
‘ to have no other Reason for raising and supporting
‘ it, than a general Observation of the contrary Tem-
‘ per, into which the Nation had fallen, He deserves
‘ the Acknowledgments of every honest Man in *Bri-*

tain, for the Part he has acted. The Dispute between us is thus reduced to one single Proposition; and if I prove This, all your Reasoning, Sir, falls of course to the Ground.

The *other* assented; the State of the Dispute was fixed; and the *old Gentleman* proceeded in his Argument to this Effect.

Give me leave to borrow, upon this Occasion, an Image, which my Lord *Bacon* employs, in one of his Essays, upon another. A People, who will maintain their *Liberties*, must pray for the Blessing of *Judah*, to avoid the Fate of *Issachar*; the greatest Curse, which can befall them. Far from jogging on silently and tamely, like the *Ass* between two Burthens, such a People must preserve some of the Fierceness of the *Lion*, and even make their Roar to be heard like his, whenever they are injured, or so much as threatened.

I do not mean to recommend your *seditious, rebellious Spirit*, which will create a perpetual Scene of Tumult and Disorder, and expose every State to frequent and dangerous Convulsions. Neither would I be thought to approve even that *popular Peevishness of Temper*, which sometimes prevails, so as to discompose the Harmony of the several Orders of Government. But This I assert, that *Liberty* cannot be long secure, in any Country, unless a *perpetual Jealousy* watches over it, and a *constant determined Resolution* protects it in the whole Body of the Nation. The *Principle* must be permanent and equal. The *Exercise* of it ought to be proportioned to the Occasions. The hundred Eyes of *Argus* were not always kept open; but they were never all closed. The whole Body of a Nation may be as jealous of their *Liberties*, as a private Man of his *Honour*. They may be, at all Times, animated by a generous Resolution of defending these *Liberties*, at any Risque; as he may, at all Times, feel in his Heart
the

‘ the Courage of venturing his Life to maintain his
‘ *Honour*. But as there is no necessary Consequence
‘ from this *private Character* to That of a *quarrel-*
‘ *some Bully* ; so neither is there any necessary Conse-
‘ quence from the *publick Character* I have recom-
‘ mended to That of a *factious, rebellious People*.

‘ *Liberty* is a tender Plant, which will not flourish,
‘ unless the Genius of the Soil be proper for it ; nor
‘ will any Soil continue to be so long, which is not
‘ cultivated with incessant Care. *Variæ illudunt*
‘ *Pestes ; Mischiefs of various Kinds abound* ; and
‘ there is no Season, in the Revolution of the great
‘ political Year of Government, when we can say, with
‘ Truth, that *Liberty* is entirely free from immediate,
‘ or remote Danger.

‘ In every Kind of *Government* some Powers must
‘ be lodged in particular Men, or particular Bodies of
‘ Men, for the good Order and Preservation of the
‘ whole Community. The Lines, which circumscribe
‘ these Powers, are the Bounds of Separation between
‘ the *Prerogatives of the Prince*, or other Magistrate,
‘ and the *Privileges of the People*. Every Step,
‘ which the Prince, or Magistrate, makes beyond these
‘ Bounds, is an Encroachment on *Liberty*, and every
‘ Attempt towards making such a Step is a Danger to
‘ *Liberty*.

‘ Thus we see how great a Trust is reposed in
‘ Those, to whom such Powers are committed ; and
‘ if we look into the Heart of Man, we shall soon
‘ discover how great, tho’ unavoidable, a Temptation
‘ is laid in their Way. The Love of Power is natu-
‘ ral ; it is insatiable ; almost constantly whetted ; and
‘ never cloyed by Possession. If therefore all Men
‘ will endeavour to encrease their Power, or at least
‘ to prolong and secure the Enjoyment of it, according
‘ to the uncertain Measure of their own Passions, and
‘ not according to the stated Proportion of Reason
‘ and of Law ; and if neither one nor the other of
‘ These

‘ These can be attempted without a Danger to *Liberty* ; it follows undeniably that, in the Nature of Things, the Notion of a perpetual Danger to *Liberty* is inseparable from the very Notion of Government.

‘ That these Principles are true, will appear evident from Practice and Experience, as well as from Speculation. All Forms of Government suppose them to be so ; and in such as are not *absolute Monarchies* we find the the utmost Precautions, which their several Institutions admit, taken against this Evil ; from hence that Rotation of Employments in *Commonwealths* ; the annual, or other more frequent Elections of Magistrates ; and all those Checks and Controuls, which the Wisdom of Legislators, prompted by Experience, has invented.

‘ In *perfect Democracies* these Precautions have been taken in the highest Degree ; and yet even there They have not been always effectual. They were carried so far in the *Athenian Form of Government*, that this People seemed more in Danger of falling into *Anarchy* than *Tyranny* ; and yet *one of their Magistrates* found Means to become their *Tyrant*, and to transmit this Power to his Successors.

‘ In *mixed Governments*, the Danger must still be greater. Such a one we may justly reckon That of *Rome*, as well during the *regal* as *republican State* ; and surely no History can be more fruitful in Examples of the Danger, to which *Liberty* stands exposed from the natural, and therefore constant Desire of amplifying and maintaining Power, than the *Roman History* is, from the last of the *Kings* to the first of the *Emperors*.

‘ A *Monarchy*, limited like ours, may be placed, for aught I know, as it has often been represented, just in the *middle Point* ; from whence a Deviation leads, on one Hand, to *Tyranny* ; and, on the other, to *Anarchy* ; but sure I am that if we are situated just
in

‘ in the *middle Point*, the least Deviation is the more
‘ cautionally to be guarded against. *Liberty* would be
‘ safer, perhaps, if we inclined a little more than we
‘ do to the *popular Side*.

‘ It may be said, and I would anticipate the Objec-
‘ tion, that if we are thus placed, our Care ought to
‘ be exerted equally against Deviations on *either Side* ;
‘ and that I am the more in the Wrong to appear so
‘ apprehensive of Those on *one Side*, and so little ap-
‘ prehensive of Those on the *other* ; because even our
‘ *own History* might have shewn us that Deviations to
‘ the *popular Side* have cost us at least as dear, as ever
‘ Those to the *other Side* can be pretended to have
‘ done. But let it be considered ;

‘ *First*, that as far as these *national Calamities*,
‘ hinted at in the Objection, have been the unavoida-
‘ ble Consequences of Methods necessary to secure or
‘ retrieve *Liberty*, it is infamous to repine at them,
‘ whatever they have cost.

‘ *Secondly*, that the Cases compared together, and
‘ supposed in this Objection to be equal, are not so.
‘ I may safely appeal to every impartial Reader of our
‘ *History*, whether any Truth he collected from it ever
‘ struck him more strongly than This ; that when the
‘ Disputes between the *King* and the *People* have been
‘ carried to such extremes, as to draw national Cala-
‘ mities after them, it has not been owing primarily
‘ to the Obstinacy and weak Management of the *Court*,
‘ and is therefore unjustly charged on the just *Spirit*
‘ of *Liberty*. In Truth a *Spirit of Liberty* will never
‘ destroy a free Constitution ; a *Spirit of Faction* may.
‘ But I appeal again, whether Those of our Princes,
‘ who have had Sense and Virtue enough to encou-
‘ rage the *one*, have had any Thing to fear from the
‘ *other*.

‘ Now if Experience shews, as I am persuaded it
‘ does, that the Prerogative and Power of a *Prince*
‘ will never be in any real Danger, when he invades,
‘ neither

‘ neither openly nor insidiously, the *Liberties of his*
 ‘ *People* ; the same Experience will shew that the *Li-*
 ‘ *berties of a People* may be in very real Danger, when,
 ‘ far from invading the *Prerogative and Power of the*
 ‘ *Prince*, they submit to *one*, and are even so good as
 ‘ to encrease the *other*. The Reason of this Diffe-
 ‘ rence is plain. A *Spirit of Faction* alone will be al-
 ‘ ways too weak to cope with the legal Power and
 ‘ Authority of the *Crown* ; and the *Spirit of Liberty*,
 ‘ in the whole Body of the People, which contra-
 ‘ distinguishes this Case from the other, may be rais’d
 ‘ by the Fear of *losing* ; but cannot be so raised by
 ‘ the Hopes of *acquiring*. The *Fear* is common to
 ‘ *all* ; the *Hope* can only be particular to a *few*. The
 ‘ *Fear* therefore may become a general Principle of
 ‘ Union ; the *Hope* cannot.

‘ But if a *national Spirit* cannot be any other than
 ‘ a defensive and, therefore unprovoked, an harmless,
 ‘ inoffensive *Spirit* ; That of a *Prince* cannot, with-
 ‘ out due Coertion, be kept within the same Bounds ;
 ‘ for here the Tables are turned ; and the Hope of
 ‘ *acquiring*, which can never be a common Principle
 ‘ among the *Multitude* to unite and carry them into
 ‘ Action, becomes an almost irresistible Motive to the
 ‘ *Prince* ; who, by yielding to it, indulges the most
 ‘ powerful Passions of the Soul ; who finds many to
 ‘ share the Difficulties and Dangers of the En-
 ‘ terprize with him ; and who shares the Prize with
 ‘ none.

‘ Generally and abstractedly speaking, therefore, as
 ‘ *publick Liberty* is more exposed under *mixed Govern-*
 ‘ *ments*, than under *perfect Democracies* ; so is it more
 ‘ exposed under *limited Monarchies* than under any
 ‘ other Form of *mix’d Government*.

‘ What encreases the Danger to *Liberty* in this
 ‘ Case is, that the Opportunity of invading it, which
 ‘ lies open to a sovereign Prince, suits almost any Cha-
 ‘ racter. The Powers intrusted to other Magistrates,

as in a *Commonwealth*, are subject to immediate Troubles; the Exercise of them is subject to future Revisions; and is limited to a short Time; so that if such Magistrates invade *Liberty*, with any Prospect of Success, it can only happen, when they are able to compensate for the Disadvantages of their *political Circumstances*, by the Greatness of their *personal Qualifications*; by superior Understanding and superior Courage; by a great, if not a good Character; and by the Appearance of Virtue at least. Few Men therefore are fit for such an Undertaking.

But the *sovereign Prince*, who rules in a *limited Monarchy*, has an Opportunity open to him for Life; and such an Opportunity as requires no *extraordinary personal Qualifications*. He may possess every Vice, or Weakness, which is opposed to the Virtues, or Appearances of Virtue, requisite in the *other Case*, and yet may destroy the *Liberty* of the bravest People upon Earth. The Pretences for concealing his Designs, and the Helps for carrying them on, which his Situation affords above That of any Magistrate in a *Commonwealth*, will abundantly compensate for the Disadvantages arising from his *personal Character*, and will secure his Success, if the People are brought, by Artifice or Accident, to grow remiss in watching over their *Liberties*. Every Man is therefore fit for such an Undertaking. If these general Reflections evince that *Liberty* must always be in some Degree of Danger under every Government; and that this Danger must encrease in Proportion, as the *chief Powers* of the State are entrusted in *fewer Hands* and for *longer Terms*; then *Liberty* is always in some Degree of Danger; and That not the least, even under our *excellent Constitution*; then the Necessity of keeping this *jealous Spirit*, the true Guardian of *publick Liberty*, always alive and active in this Nation, is manifest; then

the

‘ the Observation of our being fallen into the contrary Temper is alone a sufficient Reason to justify
 ‘ Mr. D’Anvers for joining his Endeavours to awaken
 ‘ us from our *political Lethargy*; then, Sir, my Proposition is proved, and your Reasoning against him
 ‘ falls to the Ground.

This Discourse furnished Matter of much Reflection to the Company; some Objections were made; some Doubts were proposed; and some Explanations asked for. I shall not trouble you with all these Particulars, but shall conclude my Letter, by relating to you in what Manner the *old Gentleman* replied, and by his Reply wound up the Conversation of the Evening.

‘ I believe, Gentlemen, (said he) that we do not
 ‘ differ so much as some of you seem to imagine; for
 ‘ *first*, tho’ I desire the Vessel of the *Commonwealth*
 ‘ may sail safely, yet I desire it may sail smoothly
 ‘ too; and tho’ I must think, till I hear better Reasons to the contrary, that *publick Liberty* cannot be
 ‘ so easily attacked, and may be more easily defended,
 ‘ in a *perfect Democracy*, or in a *mixed Republick*,
 ‘ than in a *limited Monarchy*; yet will it not follow
 ‘ necessarily from hence, as has been supposed, that I
 ‘ prefer the *two first* to the *last* of these Forms of
 ‘ Government. On *either Side* there are Compensations; and if *Liberty* may be better defended in
 ‘ the *former*, yet still it may be defended, and domestic Quiet is perhaps better preserved in the
 ‘ *latter*.

‘ *Secondly*, if I agree with the Gentlemen, who
 ‘ have insisted so much on the little Reason, which
 ‘ there was in the late Reign, or is in the present, to
 ‘ apprehend any Encroachments from the *Crown* on
 ‘ the *British Liberties*; these Gentlemen must, I think,
 ‘ agree with me likewise that This will not alter the
 ‘ Case; subvert what I have endeavoured to establish;
 ‘ or derive any Blame on Those, who have endeavoured
 ‘ voured

‘ voured to revive that *publick Spirit of Watchfulness*
‘ over all national Interests, which is the proper and
‘ true Guardian of *Liberty*, in an Age, when that
‘ *publick Spirit* has more than begun to sink and dye
‘ away. I hope there will be always Men found to
‘ preach this Doctrine in Season and out of Season,
‘ as the Apostles preached the Gospel; because if *this*
‘ *Spirit* is not kept at all Times in Vigour, it may
‘ fail us at some particular Time, when we shall want
‘ to exert it most. In great and immediate Danger,
‘ the most sluggish Centinel is alerte; but surely
‘ They, who, in Times of apparent Security, excite
‘ us to be upon our Guard, do as real Service as They,
‘ who animate us to our Defence, when we are actu-
‘ ally attacked; and the *first* is, in my Opinion, that
‘ Kind of Service, of which we stand the most in
‘ need. I confess freely that I should not apprehend
‘ so much Danger to *Liberty* in Times of Suspicion,
‘ if I saw that neither *Power* could subdue, nor *Arti-*
‘ *fice* divert, nor *Pusillanimity* oblige Men to aban-
‘ don *this Spirit*; as I should apprehend in Times of
‘ apparent Security, if I observed it to be lost. In a
‘ Word, no Laws, no Orders of Government can
‘ effectually secure *Liberty* any longer than *this Spirit*
‘ prevails, and gives them Vigour; and therefore you
‘ might argue as reasonably for repealing any Law, or
‘ abolishing any Custom, the most advantageous to
‘ *Liberty*, and which you cannot be sure of restoring
‘ at your Pleasure, because you feel no immediate
‘ Want of it; as you have argued for letting *this*
‘ *Spirit* die away, which you cannot be sure of re-
‘ viving at your Pleasure, because you perceive no
‘ immediate Occasion for the Exercise of it.

‘ I hope that I have said enough to give me a Right
‘ to conclude in this Manner; and if I was to de-
‘ scend into particular Applications of the general
‘ Truths, which I have advanced, I think that no
‘ Doubt whatever could remain in any of your Minds,

‘ upon this Subject.’—After This, our Company broke up. If the same Subject is resumed, when they meet again, or on any other, which I judge proper to be communicated to you, it is highly probable that you will hear again from

Your Admirer, Friend, and Servant,

O.

HUMPHRY OLDCASTLE.



N^o 219. SATURDAY, Sept. 12, 1730.

By CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



HE same Company hath met and the same Subject hath been resumed; so that I think myself under an Obligation of writing to you again.

The *Person*, who gave Occasion to all that was said in your Defence the other Day, seem'd very desirous that the Conversation should be pursued at our last Meeting; and therefore as soon as we sat down, He address'd Himself thus to the *old Gentleman*, who had fought your Battle.

‘ Sir, said He, I own myself a good deal reconcil'd
 ‘ to the *Craftsman* by the Discourse you held, when
 ‘ We were last together. That some Inconveniencies
 ‘ must follow from keeping this *Spirit of Jealousy*
 ‘ and *Watchfulness* always alive, seems to me very
 ‘ evident; but I begin to think that this Evil may be
 ‘ necessary, in order to secure us against greater.
 ‘ Every System of human Invention must be liable to
 ‘ some Objections; and it would be chimerical in us

‘ to

‘ to expect a Form of Government liable to none.
‘ Even *Theocracy* was attended by some real Inconve-
‘ niencies, according to the *Jewish* Histories; and
‘ neither the divine Presence in the Tabernacle, nor
‘ the ambulant Oracle; which the Priest carried
‘ about with him, could preserve intire Purity in Re-
‘ ligion, or good Order in the State. We must be
‘ content therefore to bear the Disorder I apprehend
‘ from *that Ferment*, which a perpetual *Jealousy* of
‘ the Governors in the Governed will keep up, ra-
‘ ther than abandon *that Spirit*, the Life of which
‘ is the Life of *Liberty*. When the *Jealousy* hap-
‘ pens to be ill-placed, We may hope it will not rise
‘ to any great and dangerous Height. When it hap-
‘ pens to be well grounded, it may have the good
‘ Effect of destroying a *wicked Minister*; of checking
‘ a *bad*; or of reclaiming a *misguided Prince*.

‘ You see, Sir, that my Conversion is pretty far
‘ advanced; and if you will please to descend into par-
‘ ticular Applications of the general Doctrines you
‘ delivered, as you gave us Reason to hope that you
‘ would, it is very probable that the few Doubts I
‘ have still may be removed.

The rest of the Company seconded this Request.
The good, *old Gentleman* yielded to our common
Desires, and spoke to the following Effect.

‘ The general Truth I am to prove by particular
‘ Examples is This; that *Liberty* cannot be preserv’d
‘ long by any People, who do not preserve that watch-
‘ ful and jealous *Spirit of Liberty*, on the Necessity
‘ of which I have insisted. If you are once convinc’d
‘ of this Truth, you will know what Opinion to en-
‘ tertain of *Those*, who endeavour to extinguish *this*
‘ *Spirit*, and of *Those*, who do all They can to keep
‘ it alive.

‘ There are two other general Truths relative to
‘ This, which I shall establish likewise by particular
‘ Examples, as I go along.

‘ One is This; that the *Spirit of Liberty*, far from
 ‘ inspiring that Rashness and undistinguishing Fury,
 ‘ which are peculiar to the *Spirit of Faction*, is slow
 ‘ to act even against the *worst Princes*, and exerts itself
 ‘ in Favour of the *best* with more Effect than any
 ‘ other Spirit whatever.

‘ The *second* is This; that how slowly soever the
 ‘ *Spirit of Liberty* may act in suspicious Times and
 ‘ against incroaching Governors; yet if it be kept
 ‘ alive, it will act effectually sooner or later, though
 ‘ under the greatest Disadvantages, and against the
 ‘ most powerful Opposition; in a Word, in the most
 ‘ desperate Cases.

‘ The *first* of these Truths will recommend *this*
 ‘ *Spirit* to every good Prince and honest Minister.
 ‘ The *other* will encourage every Man, who is a
 ‘ Friend to *Liberty*, never to abandon the Cause
 ‘ through Despondency of Success, as long as He
 ‘ sees *this Spirit* prevail, or even subsist.

‘ Having fix’d these principal Points of View, let
 ‘ us proceed; and though I would not advise you to
 ‘ admit the Works of *Machiavel* into your Canon of
 ‘ *political Writings*; yet since in Them, as in other
 ‘ apocryphal Books, many excellent Things are inter-
 ‘ spers’d, let us begin by improving an Hint taken
 ‘ from the Discourses of the *Ital. an Secretary* on the
 ‘ first Decade of *Livy*.

‘ He observes that, of all Governments, Those are
 ‘ the best, which, by the natural Effect of their ori-
 ‘ ginal Constitutions, are frequently renew’d or drawn
 ‘ back, as He explains his Meaning, to their *first*
 ‘ *Principles*; and that no Government can be of a
 ‘ long Duration, where This does not happen from
 ‘ Time to Time, either from the Cause just mention-
 ‘ ed, or from some accidental Cause.

‘ The Reason is obvious. There must be some
 ‘ Good in the *first Principles* of every Government,
 ‘ or it could not subsist at all; much less could it make
 ‘ any

any Progress. But this Good degenerates, according to the natural Course of Things ; and Governments, like all other mix'd Bodies, tend to Dissolution by the Changes, which are wrought in the several Parts, and by the Unaptness and Disproportion, which results from hence throughout the whole Composition.

The most effectual, and indeed the sole Method of maintaining their Health and prolonging their Life, must therefore be to bring them back as near and as frequently as possible to *those Principles*, on which their Prosperity, Strength and Duration were originally founded.

This Change, or Renewal of the State, hath been sometimes wrought by *external Causes*, as it happen'd at *Rome*, upon the Invasion of the *Gauls*. The *Romans* had departed from their antient Observances. The Ceremonies of Religion and the Laws of Justice were neglected by them. An Enemy, whom they despis'd and provok'd, conquer'd them. The Impressions made by this dreadful Calamity brought them back to their first Institutions and to their primitive Spirit. They sprung up from this *second Original*, as *Livy* calls it, with new Vigour, and rose to greater Fame, Power and Dignity than ever.

But not to dwell on such Examples, as point out to us rather the Punishment of *Vice*, than the Means of *Reformation*, let us observe that this Change, or Renewal of the State, is oftner and better wrought by *internal Causes*.

Many excellent Institutions were contrived in framing the *Roman Government*, which served to maintain in Force the *first Principles* of that political System. Such were the Regulations about *Elections* ; the Laws against *Bribery* ; and many other written Laws, or confirmed Customs. Such again was the Constitution of the *Senate*, in whom

' the Majesty of the Commonwealth resided, and
 ' whose Authority controuled the Licentiousness of
 ' the People. Such was the Erection of that sacred,
 ' *Tribunitial Power*, whose Prerogatives served to
 ' check the Usurpations of the *Magistrates*, and who
 ' could arrest, with one Word, even the Proceedings
 ' of the *Senate*. Such was the Office of the *Censors*,
 ' whose Inquisitions and Lustrations corrected Abuses,
 ' reformed Manners, and purg'd the *Senate* itself of
 ' corrupt and unworthy Members.

' These Laws, these Customs, these different Or-
 ' ders, controuling one another, and promoting the
 ' general Good of the Commonwealth, had great Ef-
 ' fect, during some Centuries. But this Effect could
 ' never have followed them at all, if the *Spirit of*
 ' *Liberty*, which had enacted these Laws, established
 ' these Customs, and form'd these Orders, had not
 ' continued. The very best Laws are a dead Letter,
 ' nay often a Grievance, unless they are strenuously
 ' and honestly executed. They never can be so exe-
 ' cuted, unless the *Spirit* of them possess Those, to
 ' whom the Execution of them is committed; and
 ' it would be ridiculous to expect to find *this Spirit*
 ' in the *Magistrates*, and the several Orders of the
 ' State, unless it appear'd in the Body of the People,
 ' out of whom these Magistrates are chosen, and these
 ' Orders composed.

' The Examples, which *Machiavel* cites to shew
 ' that the Virtue of particular Men among the *Ro-*
 ' *mans* did frequently draw that Government back to
 ' its *original Principles*, are so many Proofs that the
 ' Duration of *Liberty* depends on keeping the *Spirit*
 ' of it alive and warm. Such Examples were fre-
 ' quent in *Rome*, whilst *this Spirit* flourished. As it
 ' decayed, these Examples became more rare and fail'd
 ' at last intirely. The *old Laws* and *Customs* were,
 ' for the most Part, still in being. The Forms of
 ' *electing Magistrates*, and of *promulgating Laws* were,
 ' in

‘ in the main, observed. There was still a *Senate*.
‘ There were still *Censors* and *Tribunes*. But the *Spi-*
‘ *rit of Liberty* being stifled by That of *Faction* and
‘ *Cabal*; and the several Orders of the Government
‘ being tainted by the general Corruption; these good
‘ Laws and Customs remain’d without Force; or were
‘ suspended; or were abrogated; or were perverted
‘ to serve the Purposes of private Ambition and Ava-
‘ rice.

‘ The Time-serving Flatterers of Princes and Mi-
‘ nisters have no Point, amongst all the nauseous Drud-
‘ gery imposed on them, which they are obliged more
‘ to labour than That of representing all the Effects of
‘ a *Spirit of Liberty* as so many Effects of a *Spirit of*
‘ *Faction*. Examples might be found, even without
‘ searching long, or looking far after them, when This
‘ hath been done against the publick Sense of a *whole*
‘ *Nation*, and sometimes in Favour of a *Cabal*, nei-
‘ ther numerous nor considerable enough to be called
‘ a *Party*. But still it will remain eternally true that
‘ the *Spirit of Liberty* and the *Spirit of Faction* are
‘ not only different, but repugnant and incompatible;
‘ so that the Life of *either* is the Death of the
‘ *other*.

‘ We must not imagine that the Freedom of the
‘ *Romans* was lost, because *one Party* fought for the
‘ Maintainance of *Liberty*; *another* for the Establish-
‘ ment of *Tyranny*; and that the *latter* prevail’d.
‘ No. The *Spirit of Liberty* was dead, and the *Spi-*
‘ *rit of Faction* had taken its Place on both Sides. As
‘ long as the *former* prevailed, a *Roman* sacrificed *his*
‘ *own*, and therefore no Doubt every other *personal*
‘ *Interest*, to the Interest of the *Commonwealth*. When
‘ the *latter* succeeded, the Interest of the *Common-*
‘ *wealth* was considered no otherwise than in Subordi-
‘ nation to that *particular Interest*, which each Per-
‘ son had espous’d. The principal Men, instead of
‘ making their Grandeur and Glory consist, as They
‘ formerly

' formerly had done, in That, which the Grandeur
 ' and Glory of the Commonwealth reflected on them,
 ' considered themselves now as *Individuals*, not as
 ' *Citizens*, and each would shine with his own Light.
 ' To this Purpose alone they employ'd the Commands
 ' they had of *Armies*, the Governments of *Provin-*
 ' *ces*, and the Influence they acquir'd over the Tribes
 ' at *Rome*, and over the Allies and Subjects of the
 ' Republick. Upon Principles of the same Kind, in-
 ' ferior Persons attach'd themselves to These; and
 ' that Zeal and Industry, nay that Courage and Mag-
 ' nanimity, which had been exerted formerly in the
 ' Service of the Commonwealth, were exerted, by
 ' the *Spirit of Faction*, for *Marius*, or *Sylla*; for
 ' *Cæsar*, or *Pompey*.

' It is plain that the Liberty of *Rome* would not
 ' have been irretrievably lost, though *Cæsar* had fi-
 ' nished the civil War with absolute Success; and was
 ' settled in Power, if the *Spirit of Liberty* had not
 ' been then lost in the whole Body of the People;
 ' if the *Romans* had not been as ripe for Slavery, as
 ' the *Cappadocians* were fond of it; for I think the
 ' *Cappadocians* were the People, who desired that a
 ' *Prince* might be set over Them, and refused to be a
 ' *free People*.

' I cannot believe that Those, who murder'd *Cæ-*
 ' *sar*, took such puerile Measures as *Cicero*, who was
 ' not let into the Secret, pretended that they had
 ' taken, when he saw the Consequences of their Action.
 ' But in This they erred. They kill'd their *Bene-*
 ' *factor*; at least, he was such to the greatest Part of
 ' them; and renewed the civil War, in order to re-
 ' store *Liberty* to a People, who had lost the *Spirit*
 ' *of Liberty*, and who would not take it, when it
 ' was offer'd to them. Even in the *Senate*, *Octavius*
 ' had a Party; *Anthony* had a Party; but the *Com-*
 ' *monwealth* had none. In short, the freest People
 ' upon Earth, by suffering the *Spirit of Liberty* to
 ' decay

‘ decay, and That of *Faction* to grow up, became
‘ Slaves to such a Succession of Monsters, (continued
‘ with very few Exceptions, from the Reign of *Au-*
‘ *gustus* to the Destruction of the Empire,) as God
‘ never sent in his Wrath to execute Vengeance on
‘ any other Nation.

‘ Thus I have endeavour’d to illustrate and confirm
‘ the *first general Proposition* laid down, by a summa-
‘ ry Application of it to the *Roman Story*. I have
‘ not explain’d by what Degrees, and by what Means,
‘ *one* of these *Spirits* gradually decay’d, and the *other*
‘ grew up. The Subject is fine, and the Task would
‘ be pleasant; but it is unnecessary to our present
‘ Purpose. We see enough at this Time, if we see
‘ that, in the greatest Revolution of the greatest Go-
‘ vernment of the World, losing the *Spirit of Liberty*
‘ was the *Cause* and losing *Liberty* was the *Effect*.

‘ If now we bring these Considerations home, we
‘ shall find not only the *first general Proposition*, but
‘ the others, relative to it, illustrated and confirmed
‘ through the whole Course of our Annals. I shall
‘ make a Deduction of some of these Particulars. To
‘ deduce them all would exceed my Strength and your
‘ Patience.

Here one of our Company interrupted the *old Gentleman’s* Discourse, by saying that since we were come to a kind of Pause, He desired Leave to make an Observation, which he thought pertinent and material, on what had been said, before we went into any new Matter. — ‘ The Difference and Opposition be-
‘ tween a *Spirit of Liberty* and a *Spirit of Faction*,
‘ continued he, hath been justly stated. A *Spirit of*
‘ *Liberty* will be always and wholly concerned about
‘ *national Interests*, and very indifferent about *perso-*
‘ *nal* and *private Interests*. On the contrary, a *Spi-*
‘ *rit of Faction* will be always and wholly concerned
‘ about *These*, and very indifferent about the *others*.
‘ When they appear therefore in their proper Cha-
‘ racters,

characters, they are distinguished as easily as Light and Darkneſs; and the Danger I apprehend is over.

But *Faction* puts on the Mask of *Liberty*; and, under this falſe Appearance, diſputes her Being even with *Liberty* herſelf. Now here, methinks, a great many Dangers ariſe; the Danger of miſtaking, when it is ſo hard to diſtinguiſh; the Danger of being Bubbles and Tools of *Faction*, whiſt we fancy ourſelves Aſſertors of *publick Liberty*; the Danger of continuing under this Deluſion, till it is too late to prevent ſuch Miſchiefs as we never intended to bring on our Country. The *Spirit of Faction* may take (and, I doubt not, hath often taken) Poſſeſſion of Numbers, who meant to entertain no *other Spirit* than That of *Liberty*; for Numbers have not the Diſcernment of *Spirits*. This Poſſeſſion may continue and, in Fact, I believe it hath continued very often, till *Faction* hath accompliſh'd, or ſecur'd the Accompliſhment of her Ends. I made this Obſervation, which reſults naturally from what hath been ſaid, and inſiſt upon it; becauſe if *Faction* could not lie latent under the moſt ſpecious and popular Pretences imaginable, there would be no great need of putting us on our Guard againſt it; and becauſe if it can lie thus latent and conceal'd, we may be expoſed to the Dangers I have mentioned, which Side ſoever of the Queſtion we take in political Diſputes. At this Time, to ſpeak as I think, the Caſe is ſo clear on *one Side*, that no Man, who adheres to it, hath the leaſt Pretence left him to ſay that he purſues the *publick Intereſt*; or is directed in his Conduct by the generous, diſ-intereſted Spirit of *Liberty*.

I could ſupport my Aſſertion by many Proofs, if it was neceſſary in this Company. One I will mention for its Singularity; and it is This.

We have ſeen and heard in a Nation, hitherto free, ſuch *Maxims* avowed and pleaded for, as are inconſiſtent.

‘ sistent with all the Notions of *Liberty*. *Corruption*
‘ hath been defended, nay recommended, as a proper,
‘ a necessary, and therefore a reasonable Expedient of
‘ Government; than which there is not, perhaps,
‘ any one Proposition more repugnant to the common
‘ Sense of Mankind and to universal Experience Both
‘ of these demonstrate *Corruption* to be the last, dead-
‘ ly Symptom of *agonizing Liberty*. Both of them
‘ declare that a People, abandon’d to it, are abandon’d
‘ to a reprobate Sense, and are lost to all Hopes of *po-*
‘ *litical Salvation*.

‘ The *Dependance* of the *legislative* on the *execu-*
‘ *tive Power* hath been contended for by the same
‘ Persons, under the same Direction; and yet nothing
‘ surely can be more evident than *This*; that in a Con-
‘ stitution like ours, the Safety of the *whole* depends
‘ on the *Ballance of the Parts* and the *Ballance of the*
‘ *Parts* on their mutual *Independency on one another*;
‘ agreeably to which *Thuanus* makes *Ferdinand* say, in
‘ answer to the *Castilians*, who press’d him to take
‘ away the *Independency* of the States of *Arragon*;
‘ *Æquilibrio Potentiæ Regni Regisque salutem publi-*
‘ *cam contineri*; & *si contingeret aliquando alterum*
‘ *alteri præponderare, proculdubio alterius aut utriusq;*
‘ *Ruinam ex eo secuturam*; that the publick Safety de-
‘ pends on the equal *Ballance of the Power of the King*
‘ and of the *Power of the Kingdom*; and that if ever
‘ it should happen that one outweigh’d the other, the
‘ *Ruin of one, or of both, must undoubtedly follow*.

‘ On one Side then the Mask is pull’d off. The
‘ weak may be seduced to concur; the strongest may
‘ be forced to submit; but no Man can be any longer
‘ deceived.

‘ On the other, it must be acknowledged that the
‘ Appearances are extreamly fair. True Notions of
‘ *Liberty* and good Government are professed and pur-
‘ sued. Our *Grievances* are complain’d of; our
‘ *Dangers* are foretold; not only *Those*, which all
‘ Men

‘ Men feel or see, but *Those*, which are more remote
 ‘ from Observation. In short, the *Spirit of Liberty*,
 ‘ such as it hath been described, seems to breathe
 ‘ from *this Quarter*, and to diffuse its Influences over
 ‘ the Nation.

‘ As I am a Lover of my Country and of *Liberty*,
 ‘ I have rejoiced in This. I rejoice in it still; and
 ‘ yet I confess freely that I took some Umbrage at a
 ‘ *Paper*, which came out not long ago. The Design
 ‘ and Tendency of it seem’d to me to favour the
 ‘ Cause of a *Faction*; and of a *Faction*, however con-
 ‘ temptible in its present State, always to be guarded
 ‘ against. The Paper I mean is *Fog’s Journal* of the
 ‘ 6th of *June*; where you have seen a ridiculous
 ‘ Speech, supposed to be made by General *Monk*, and
 ‘ translated, as the Author says, from *Leti’s History*
 ‘ of *Oliver Cromwell*.

‘ If this wretched Production had appeared in
 ‘ *Mist’s Journal*, I should have felt neither Surprise
 ‘ nor Concern. *That Writer* never wore so much as
 ‘ the *Mask of Liberty*; and shew’d his Game so plain-
 ‘ ly, that whatever he got by *Faction*, *Faction* could
 ‘ get nothing by Him. But *Fog*, who writes incom-
 ‘ parably better, hath appeared to write with a much
 ‘ better Design. Those, who are warmest in the *na-*
 ‘ *tional Interest*, without Regard to *Persons*, and in-
 ‘ dependently of all *Factions*, have made this Judg-
 ‘ ment of Him; and therefore I was surprized and
 ‘ concerned to find that He exposed Himself even
 ‘ once, or in any Degree, to the same Reproach as
 ‘ was frequently and justly made to his *Predecessor*.

The *Gentleman’s* Observation gave Occasion to
 much Discourse. Our *old Sage* desired it might be
 remember’d that he had not undertaken the Defence
 of every *weekly Writer*, though he had undertaken
 yours, Mr. D’*Anvers*. ‘ The *Paper*, continued he,
 ‘ which hath been so much mentioned, is a very silly
 ‘ *Paper*, to whatever Purpose it was design’d.

‘ If

‘ If it was design’d to inspire an Horror of those
‘ Miseries, from which the *Restoration* delivered the
‘ Nation, it was a very superfluous Work at this
‘ Time, when there is no real, or pretended Differ-
‘ ence of Opinion upon that Head amongst us. Those,
‘ who do not go to Church upon the 29th of *May*,
‘ nor on any other Day, will agree with Those, who
‘ do, in this Point, upon better Authority than That
‘ of *Leti*, and for better Reasons than Those, which
‘ are contained in the foolish Declamation attributed
‘ to *Monk*.

‘ If it was design’d to make us commemorate the Re-
‘ storation of the two Brothers, *Charles* and *James*, as
‘ a national Blessing in itself, and independently of the
‘ other Consideration, the Project was equally ridi-
‘ culous. The Flattery bestow’d upon *these Princes*,
‘ whilst they were in *Exile*, might pass, and many
‘ Things concurred to make it pass. But to talk in
‘ the same Stile to Mankind at this Time, when they
‘ have both sate on our Throne; when so many of us
‘ remember both what they *did*, and what they *would*
‘ *have done*, is contemptible to the last Degree.

‘ If it was design’d for more *modern Application*,
‘ and to raise a Spirit amongst us, in favour of the
‘ *Pretender*, the Project was too foolish to have been
‘ hatch’d at home. It must have been imported from
‘ abroad. What *Jacobite* can be sanguine enough to
‘ hope that his Cause should revive, when he beholds
‘ the heroical King and Queen, who fill our Throne,
‘ auspicious Parents of a numerous Progeny of young
‘ Heroes and Heroines, rising up to emulate their
‘ Virtues, and to gladden, like them, the *British* Na-
‘ tion?

‘ This single Consideration might be sufficient to
‘ damp the Hopes of any *Jacobite*, who lives at home,
‘ and is a Witness of all this Glory. But however I
‘ shall mention another, which ought to have its
‘ Weight likewise, and which will have more per-

haps amongst some People. The Spirit of *Jacobitism* is not only gone ; but it will appear to be gone in such a Manner as to leave no Room to apprehend its Return ; if we reflect that it hath died away, whilst all that could be done to keep it alive was doing by *Those*, who professed it, and by *Those*, who valued and recommended themselves on their Opposition to all the Effects of it ; if we consider the Numbers of People, who have abandoned this Interest, notwithstanding the utmost Provocations to the contrary.

In short, I persuade my self that if the *Pretender* had no Rival in the Throne, instead of having there one so formidable as our most august Monarch ; yet his Way to the Throne would not be more open to him. The whole Bulk of the People hath been brought by the *Revolution*, and by the present Settlement of the Crown, to entertain Principles, which very few of us defended in my younger Days. The *Safety* and *Welfare of the Nation* are now the first and principal Objects of Regard. The Regard to *Persons* and to *Families* hath been reduced to the second Place ; and it holds even That but under the Direction of the *former*. Can any Man believe that a People, brave enough to dispose of *their Crown* for the greatest national Advantage, even when the Throne was full, will ever dispose of it, as long as the *Spirit of Liberty* remains amongst them, for the greatest national Mischief, if the Throne should be empty ?

There is but *one Design* more, which I can conceive to have given Occasion to this silly Paper ; but *one Quarter* more, from which it could possibly come ; and these Guesses, perhaps, will not appear the least probable. Might it not be design'd to instil a Jealousy of *Jacobitism*, and to prejudice Mankind against all Writings, which *Those*, who are offended at them, cannot answer ?—— Might it not

be

‘ be designed to furnish the *spruce, pert, Orator*, who
‘ strew’d some of his Flowers in the *Daily Courant*
‘ of the 11th of *June*, with an Hint, which He hath
‘ most happily and modestly improved? *Fog*, says He,
‘ avows Jacobitism; *the Craftsman concurs in the same*
‘ *Design*; nay, every *Jacobite* in England sinks his
‘ *Master’s divine Right in the popular Topicks of*
‘ *Debts, Taxes and Corruption*; so that *Jacobitism*
‘ may now be imputed, upon this Authority, to nine-
‘ ty nine in an hundred of the whole Nation; for
‘ ninety nine in an hundred do complain of *Debts,*
‘ *Taxes and Corruption*. I am sure there is *Arrogance*
‘ and *Impertinence* both in such an Insinuation too
‘ gross to be denied; whereas the *Craftsman* may
‘ destroy the whole Proof, brought against Him of
‘ *Arrogance*, by answering *three silly Questions* in the
‘ *Negative*.

‘ If This was the Design, I will be bold, for bold
‘ it may justly seem, to say that *this Expedient* is, at
‘ least, as bungling and likely to prove as ineffectual,
‘ as any that have been produced by the *same, great*
‘ *Genius*, who contrived it; for if we were inclined
‘ to believe that the *Craftsman, Fog*, or any other
‘ Person, carries on the Measures of *Faction*, under the
‘ Mask of *Liberty*; should we believe it on the Cre-
‘ dit of *Those*, who oppose them and who are notori-
‘ ously influenced to write (though under specious
‘ Pretences of promoting Loyalty to the *King* and an
‘ Acquiescence in his *Majesty’s Measures*, yet in rea-
‘ lity) for no other Service than That of a *small Num-*
‘ *ber of Men*; nay, strictly speaking, of a *single Man*?
‘ With what Face can *such Writers* impute *Faction* to
‘ any one living, or dead?

‘ Let them be assured that we can examine and
‘ judge for our selves; and that neither the *Crafts-*
‘ *man* nor *Fog* would be able, if they went about it,
‘ to impose upon us, any more than they themselves
‘ have been able to do.

‘ The *pretty Author*, I just now mention’d, begins his Essay with *Airs of Wit*, and ends it with *Airs of Wisdom*. What pity is it that he should succeed in neither? In his first Paragraph he represents the *Craftsman*, with curious Impropiety, as a *Magician*, who conjures up *Spirits*; as a *Dog*, who barks at a Distance; as a *little Insect*, who nibbles at a Character; and my Friend *Caleb* was all these Things, it seems, at the same Instant. After this Specimen of Writing, we may expect to see him compared, in some other Production of the *same Author*, to a *Bird* and made to fly different Ways and in different Places at once.

‘ But let us leave the *Wit* and come to the *Wisdom*; which will bring us back to our Subject.

‘ In the last Paragraph of this elaborate Piece, the Author sets the Example of my Lord *Falkland* and others before our Eyes; who strengthen’d, as He says, the republican Party so long, *that when They found out their Designs and forsook them, it was too late to prevent them*. After This, He calls most charitably on several, well-meaning Persons to take Warning; for some, whom He allows to be such, He thinks in Danger of being drawn in to favour the Purposes of Those, whom He calls *Opposers of our Government*.

‘ Behold this *little Gamaliel in Cathedra*! Observe the Scholars He places at his Feet for Instruction! *Risum teneatis Amici*? Can the gravest of you forbear Laughter?

‘ When We come to apply the general Propositions laid down still more particularly to the *English*, than We have done to the *Roman* History, I shall shew you perhaps that *this Author*, like most other *fine Men*, treasures up in his Memory the Observations He meets with in History, instead of making his own upon the Examination and Comparison of the Facts and Characters He finds there; and that

‘ the

‘ the Example He hath chosen will come out against
‘ the very Purpose He hath applyed it to. In the
‘ mean Time, let us observe that the Alarm, which
‘ hath been taken by some of this Company, and I
‘ suppose by others, at the Publication of that stupid
‘ Paper in *Fog’s Journal*, shews how little Reason
‘ there is to apprehend that Those, who are actuated
‘ by the *Spirit of Liberty*, and pursue the *national*
‘ *Interest*, should be impos’d upon by the *Spirit of*
‘ *any Faction*.

‘ The *Spirit of Liberty* is a jealous *Spirit*; and
‘ *Faction* is equally the Object of its Jealousy, whe-
‘ ther the Views of *Faction* be directed in Favour of
‘ the *Crown*, or against it. I make this Distinction
‘ here, though I shall have Occasion to speak more
‘ fully upon it hereafter, because I perceive that We
‘ are apt to confine our Idea of *Faction* to such Men
‘ and such Measures as are in Opposition to the Men
‘ in Power, and to the Measures They take; where-
‘ as in Truth a *Number of Men in Power*, who ex-
‘ ercise it solely for their *own private Advantage* and
‘ *Security*, and who treat the Nation as their *Farm*,
‘ or rather as a Country under *Contribution* to them,
‘ (let Them shelter Themselves under what Authori-
‘ ty They please) are as much a *Faction*, as any Num-
‘ ber of Men, who under *popular Pretences* endea-
‘ vour to ruin, or at least to disturb the Government,
‘ that They may raise Themselves,

‘ If the *Spirit of Liberty* were extinguish’d, as it
‘ is discourag’d, the *Spirit of some Faction or other*
‘ would, no doubt, prevail; but This would not
‘ succeed under the Mask of *Liberty*. There would
‘ be, in such a Case, no Need of wearing this Dis-
‘ guise. Men would avow *Faction*. They would
‘ chuse That, which suited their Interest best; and
‘ indeed it would be of no great Moment which
‘ They chose.

‘ But if the *Spirit of Liberty*, which begins to re-
 ‘ vive in this Country, becomes prevalent, there will
 ‘ remain nothing to fear from any *Faction* whatever,
 ‘ whether *mask’d*, or *unmask’d*. Whilst it is *mask’d*,
 ‘ and the Instruments, or Members of it pursue the
 ‘ *national Interest*, though they intend *another*, the
 ‘ bad Principle is however so far productive of Good,
 ‘ and the Cause of Virtue is so far promoted by Vice
 ‘ itself. When it comes to be *unmask’d*, and the
 ‘ Instruments, or Members of it are hurried by In-
 ‘ discretion, or forc’d by the Course of Events, as
 ‘ They must be, to shew their Game, *Faction* is that
 ‘ Moment disarm’d. The Distinction mark’d, the
 ‘ Separation follows of Course; and Those, who
 ‘ espouse the Cause of the *Nation*, will find Them-
 ‘ selves doubly strengthen’d by the Assistance, which
 ‘ *Faction* gave Them at one Time, and by the Op-
 ‘ position she makes to Them at another. In short,
 ‘ Gentlemen, the Spirit of *Jacobitism* may crawl
 ‘ about and skulk in Corners. The Spirit of the
 ‘ *other Faction* may roll in gilded Spires, and with
 ‘ erected Crests, in every publick Place, and hiss and
 ‘ threaten and cast its Venom around; but the *Spirit*
 ‘ *of Liberty*, like the divine Rod of *Aaron*, will de-
 ‘ vour all the Serpents of the *Magicians*.

‘ I see therefore no Cause to fear that We may be
 ‘ drawn in to serve the Purposes of *Faction*, whilst
 ‘ We pursue the Cause of *Liberty*; and if We suf-
 ‘ fer’d our selves to be drawn off from this Pursuit
 ‘ by the Jealousy, which *one Faction* endeavours to
 ‘ give us of *another*, We should be arrant Bubbles
 ‘ indeed. *Fog* is not to be defended for publishing a
 ‘ Paper liable every Way to Blame, and capable of
 ‘ no Excuse; but if He hath hurt any Body by it,
 ‘ He hath hurt himself; and the Weight, which is
 ‘ laid upon it by Those on *one Side*, (who, perhaps,
 ‘ writ it) is as ridiculous as the Project of Those, who
 ‘ thought

' thought to advance the *Jacobite Cause* by it, if it
' came from *that Side*.

Here the *old Gentleman* broke off, and though
He was press'd to resume the Discourse He had be-
gun, when this Interruption happen'd, He desired
to be excus'd, because it was late, and promis'd to
comply with our Request upon some other Occasi-
on. If He keeps his Word, as I am persuaded He
will, you shall hear again from,

S I R, Yours, &c
HUMPHRY OLDCASTLE.



N^o 220. SATURDAY, Sept. 19, 1730.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,

 UR *old Gentleman* having kept his
Word with the Company, I design'd
to have kept mine with you; but some
Business calling me into the Country,
I send you a few Minutes of the Con-
versations, which have passed, in Hopes
that the Subject will not be left imperfect for as long
a Time as my Affairs may oblige me to be absent.
Throw these Minutes into what Form and make what
Use of them you please. They are design'd to serve
an *honest Cause*; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*.
You have espoused it; and I hope will pursue it.

You are able to do This with Success, even in Op-
position to the most plausible Writers; and how much
more against the *cursorious Observer*, who appear'd in
the

the *Daily Courant*, and the *London Journalist*?

I do not suppose you will think it worth your while to set seriously about answering Them; but it may be worth while now and then to shew Them how little they deserve to be answered.

They complain heavily of the *Prolixity* and *Dullness* of the Letters, which you have published. Might They not be taught, what They have already taught the World, that an Essay of *two* or *three Columns* may be longer than an Essay of *five* or *six*? Let them not carp at my Words, since They cannot mistake my Meaning.

Might They not be convinced that They are the least competent Judges, in the whole Nation, of the *Dulness* of others, for this plain Reason; that it is not in the Case of *Dulness*, as it is in That of *Wit* and *Learning*; in which He is the best Judge of these Qualities in others, who possesses them Himself in the most eminent Degree?

But there is a *Judge*, before whom all Productions of this Sort are tried, and by whose Sentence alone They must stand, or fall. This Judge is the *Publick*; and I am apt to think that these Authors may be inform'd of the Sentence pronounc'd by the *Publick* on your Papers, Mr. *D'Anvers*, and on their own, if They will take the Trouble to enquire of *Messieurs Roberts, Peele* and *Francklin*.

I am even inclined to believe that they have enquired; and that, despairing of Success before *this Tribunal*, they have appeal'd to *another*; where Those, whom the *Publick* rejects, are pretty sure of being received.

Sure I am that they cannot hope to succeed any where else, whilst they found their Merit on *Billingsgate*, *false Quotations*, *gross Misrepresentations* and an eternal *Begging of the Question*.

That

That they are guilty of all These may be soon proved. I will point out some Instances ; as many as the Haste I am in allows me Time to mention.

The *curfory Observer* accuses *You* and *Me* (for *these Writers* are pleased to suppose us to be the *same Person*, who corresponds with *Himself*) of *quoting falsely* and *applying foolishly* in every Case, whilst he *quotes falsely himself*, and ridicules the *Application* of what, it is manifest, he never read. His whole Charge is built on a *Lye* and a *Blunder*.

Machiavel is made, according to him, in one of my *Letters*, to suppose *that the first Destruction of Rome by the Gauls* (and I never heard of a *second*) *was a Judgment from Heaven on the People for their having departed from their antient Observances and religious Ceremonies.*—With This he makes himself wonderfully merry ; and having heard that *Machiavel* did not pass for a very strong Believer, he ridicules the Imputation of such a Supposition to that *great Politician*.

But let *this Scribbler* learn to read, before he blots any more Paper. Let him learn to speak of what is, or is not in Books, after he hath look'd into those Books, and not from his idle Imagination of what an Author would, or would not have said, agreeably to the Character of the Author, which his Ignorance hath taken upon Trust.

My *old Gentleman* never said that *Machiavel* supposed *the Destruction of Rome by the Gauls was a Judgment from Heaven* ; but he reckon'd amongst other Particulars, in which the *Romans* had begun to degenerate, and to which they were brought back by this great Misfortune, That of neglecting the *Ceremonies of Religion* and the *Laws of Justice*. Now *Machiavel* does say This in express and strong Terms, as *this Writer* would have known, if he had consulted the *first Chapter of the third Book of his Discourses on Livy*.

But

But I will tell him something more. This very *Machiavel* hath written a whole Chapter concerning the * *Religion of the Romans*; in which he mentions that *Rome* was more obliged to *Numa* than to *Romulus*; in which he shews that her Grandeur and Felicity were owing to her *Religion*; nay, he asserts in general that as *Religion* raises Commonwealths, so the contempt of it must ruin them. Good Gods! Is This talking like *Machiavel*?—Why truly it is thus that *Machiavel* talks; and in talking thus he shews more Learning and Sense than the *Observer* is Master of.

Cast your Eye, Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the next Paragraph; in which this able Person undertakes to prove from Reason, as well as History, a Matter of Fact. The Fact is This; that the Destruction of *Rome*, by the *Gauls*, was owing to the Opposition set on Foot to the Measures and Person of the great, and much injur'd *Camillus*.

It was a great Mistake, it seems, to mention this Incident in the *Roman History* in one of my Letters. The *Observer* shall find that it was a greater Blunder in him to dwell upon it.

He knows as little of *Livy* as he does of *Machiavel*, or I believe of any other good Author. Let him turn to the *Roman Historian*. He will find that *Livy*, in the Transition, which he makes from the Prosecution of *Camillus* to the Invasion of the *Gauls*, says that if there be any Thing certain in human Affairs, *Rome* could not have been taken, if that Citizen had remained in it. But does he attribute the Invasion of the *Gauls* to this Man's Banishment? No. He attributes it to the Conduct of three rash and foolish Brothers, who were sent Ambassadors to the *Gauls* and who, by breaking the Law of Nations, justly provoked this People. He attributes it to the Force of a Faction, which prevailed to screen these

Cri-

Criminals and exposed the State to Ruin, rather than give them up to Justice.

Thus the *Fact* stands in History. Let the *Observer* now consider whether it would be very difficult to make certain Applications of it, which he would not like. I doubt these Applications would appear much more apposite than That, which is said to be intended, in his Paper, of the *Character of the great and much injured Camillus*.

He succeeds, you see, but ill, when He meddles with *Facts*; and I do not find that He pretends much to *Reason*. The rest of his Paper contains little more than *Fool*; *Knave*, *Libeller*, *Incendiary*, &c. I shall therefore take Notice of but one Thing more; and That is the Advantage He would make of a Mistake in *Printing*.

He must have perceived, or He can perceive nothing, that it was a Mistake in *Printing*. If the Meaning of my *Letter* had been, that the *Craftsman* might destroy the whole Proof of *Arrogance* brought against Him, by answering in the *Negative* all the Questions asked in the Paragraph referr'd to, it should have been said *five silly Questions*; for They are *five*, not *four*; but the Truth is that no Regard was had to the *two introductory Questions*; and that the *three main Questions*, which follow, were alone meant. A *Writer* must be reduced very low, by his *Cause*; or be very low in his *Character*, who catches at such an impertinent Opportunity of being what He imagines *smart*.

I should say a Word or two to the profound Mr. *Osborne*, who hath been pleas'd to let us know that He prefers the *absolute Monarchy of Augustus* to the *free State of the Roman Commonwealth*. He prefers likewise, I suppose, (at least his Discourse leads one to think so) the Violence, the Treachery, and the bloody Massacres, on which this *absolute Monarchy* was founded, to the civil Disorders, which were occasion-

ed

ed by establishing and maintaining an *equal Commonwealth*. I should desire him to compare the Reigns of a *Caligula*, a *Nero*, a *Domitian*, an *Heliogabalus*, (which had never happen'd, if the Usurpation of *Augustus* had never happen'd) with the glorious *fourth* and *fifth Centuries* of the Republick of *Rome*; but I have not, at present, Time for This. I hope you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, will give Him some salutary Corrections at your Leisure, and make Him ashamed of having prophaned the Language of a *free People* in so prostitute a Manner, and to such slavish Purposes! Advise Him to learn better Notions of Government from Mr. *Gordon's* excellent Discourses, prefix'd to his Translation of *Tacitus*; in which He will find his Favourite *Augustus* set in a true Light, and prov'd to be an infamous Tyrant, though somewhat more artful than his *Successors*. He must certainly acknowledge the Obligation; since you cannot be suspected of doing it on any Account but That of a charitable Disposition towards Him. If He was capable of imposing on the dullest *Quidnunc* in any Coffee-house, or of seducing the most raw Boy, that ever eloped from School, you might be suspected of some farther and deeper Design; but when you write against so harmless a Creature, your Efforts must pass, and ought to pass, for the pure Effects of the most disinterested, the most refined Charity.

Let me only ask the Favour of you to touch *three Points*, amongst others, whenever you condescend to meddle with *Squire Osborne*. One is to assure him, in my Name, (and, if you please, in your own) that a *good Minister* ought not to be *abused*; nay more, that he, who abuses him is a *Rogue*, a *Rascal*, an *impudent* (I had almost said, for I conform to his Dialect, a *traiterous*) *Fellow*; and might have justified myself by the Authority of a Writer on Mr. *Osborne's* Side, who talk'd of *Allegiance to Ministers*; but let this impor-

important Author know, at the same Time, that we defy him to make the least Use of these Concessions against any one Sentence, any one Word in any *Craftsman*, that hath been published.

There are *two other Things*, of which I desire you likewise to take Notice. *One* is scandalously impudent; the *other* infamously unfair.

When his *Patron* is commended by any honest Man in *Britain*, it is done most certainly with a *Sneer*. The *great Man* is an Expression, which hath undoubtedly occasion'd more *Sneers* than this Nation had seen in a Century before; but it is saucy and impudent in Mr. *Osborne* to suppose that one, who speaks of the *King* and *royal Family* with all the Respect that is due to Them, means a *Sneer*.

The *other Thing*, which I desire you to take Notice of, is the malicious and mean Comment made on an Expression in my last Letter to you, where I call'd his present Majesty a *formidable Rival of the Pretender*. Mr. *Osborne* is pleas'd, out of the Abundance of his Loyalty, to resent This as an Insult on the King. Now though, in Strictness of Fact and Propriety of Language, his Majesty neither is a *Rival* to any Body, nor can have a *Rival*, being our *rightful and lawful King*, by the Consent of his People in *Parliament*; (the *only good Title* to the Crown of these Realms;) yet in Pretension there is a *Rivalry*; and I may defy Mr. *Osborne* to give any other Reason for keeping up so large an *Army* in Times of *Peace*.

You will observe, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the only Design of this Letter is to make some short Observations on two silly Papers, which have been publish'd against my *former Letters* to you. You are now desired to apply the *old Gentleman's* general Positions to the *English History* from the Minutes, which I have sent you, and which I believe will be as agreeable to the Pub-

lick, as it was to the Company, in which he deliver'd it.

I am, S I R,

O.

Your Friend and Reader,

HUMPHRY OLDCASTLE.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'Anvers,

I Was alarm'd, the other Morning, with the violent Beating of a Drum, which our present Situation made me apprehend to be for Volunteers against the *Emperor*; but upon looking out of my Window, I found it to be only a Summons for the *Westminster-Militia* to make their annual Appearance in *Totbill-Fields*. Now, though I have the utmost Regard for that antient Order of Soldiery, which I look upon as the most natural Guard of a *free People*; yet since it is judg'd necessary to keep up a standing Army of near *twenty thousand regular Forces* in this Kingdom, I think it very hard that we poor House-keepers should be obliged, at this dead Time of the Year, to contribute any Thing towards this ridiculous Pageantry (for so it is become) of a *Militia Review*; it being of no other Use, that I can apprehend, than to give some *smart, dapper Officers*, like Captain King, an Opportunity of strutting, with their fine Feathers in their Caps, at the Head of their Companies.

I could make several Observations on this Subject; but, for want of Time, must defer them to some other Opportunity, and am,

N.

Dear Caleb,

The Strand,
July 7. 1740.

Your humble Servant,
J. TRUMAN.

N^o 221. SATURDAY, Sept. 26, 1730.

Y good old Friend and Correspondent, *Humphry Oldcastle*, being gone into the Country, for some Time, upon particular Business, hath sent me his Minutes of the succeeding Conversations, mention'd in his last Letter, upon the Subject of *Liberty and Faction*; in which the *general Positions*, laid down in his former, and illustrated by several Instances in the *Roman Government*, are apply'd to the *English History*, from the *Conquest* to this Time.

I have great Reason to wish that his Affairs had allowed Him to digest these Materials into Form; being very sensible of my own Inability, even with the Advantage of his Assistance, to follow such an excellent Master of *History* and *political Reasoning*; but since He hath done me the Honour to commit this Trust into my Hands, I will exert my best Endeavours to execute it as it deserves, and in the Manner, which He hath directed; by dividing his *Remarks* into select Dissertations and publishing them, from Time to Time, as Occasion requires.

I flatter my self that such *Essays* may be render'd entertaining, as well as instructive. They will continually bring the Reader back to the *general Doctrines*, establish'd in my Friend's *first Letter*. The Principles of *Liberty* will be thus constantly inculcated; and frequent Opportunities will be furnish'd of exposing Men, who call Themselves *Whigs*, whilst They are actually renouncing all the Principles of *Whiggism* in their Conduct and Writings.

In the mean Time, I think it proper to make a few short Observations on those Papers, which have been already publish'd on this Subject, in the Name of Mr. Oldcastle.

He hath proved, beyond all reasonable Contradiction, that it is necessary to the Conservation of *Liberty*, to keep the *Spirit* of it warm and active amongst the People; and that We ought always to esteem *Liberty* itself to be in Danger, in exact Proportion as *this Spirit* is observ'd to cool and grow languid.

He hath likewise fully proved, as I conceive, that the *Spirit*, which hath been lately raised in this Nation, is the true *Spirit of Liberty*, and not the *Spirit of Faction*.

It follows of Consequence that Those, who have been instrumental in raising and keeping up this *popular Spirit*, do not deserve the reproachful Terms of *Libellers* and *Incendiaries*; for They are the Tools of *Faction*, and not the Agents of *Liberty*; but as this Term *Incendiary* hath been lately thrown about in a very undistinguishing Manner, and fix'd upon every Body, who cannot approve, and therefore will not concur in the Measures of a *certain Gentleman*; it may not be amiss to examine the true Meaning of this Appellation, and to *Whom* it most properly belongs.

An *Incendiary*, in the first and natural Acceptation of the Word, signifies one, who sets an *House on Fire* with a wicked Design, either of Malice, or robbing it; but it is used metaphorically to denote any Person, who endeavours to serve ill Purposes by stirring up Differences in *Families*, or Disturbances in the *State*. An *Incendiary*, in this Sense, is a most detestable Wretch, and deserves the severest Punishment; but the *Writers*, who make so free with *this Word*, seem to forget that there is likewise such a Thing as an *Incendiary*, in a good Sense. A Person, who makes it
his

his Business to excite the People to their Duty, or even to inflame and blow up their Passions against *bad Measures* and *wicked Ministers*, may be called an *Incendiary*; but whatever He is called, He is a valuable Member of the Commonwealth, and deserves the Applause of his Fellow-Subjects. The two great Orators of *Greece* and *Rome*, who endeavour'd to stir up the Resentments of the People against *Philip* and *Mark Anthony*, were *Incendiaries* of this Sort; and though They both perished in the Attempt, under the Weight of Power; yet their Names and their Works are transmitted with Honour to the latest Posterity.

In the same Manner all Persons, who have, in any Age and in any Country, employ'd their Pens, or their Tongues against *tyrannical Princes*, or their *insolent* and *oppressive Ministers*, may be stiled *Incendiaries*, or *seditious Patriots*.

It is the peculiar Happiness of this Nation that it hath abounded, in all Ages, with such *honest Incendiaries*; who have strenuously asserted the Liberties of their Country, and opposed the Incroachments of arbitrary Power.

The late, happy *Revolution*, under the Conduct of our immortal Deliverer King *William*, was owing to nothing more than to the Writings of these *Incendiaries*, who appear'd in very great Numbers, at that Time, and exasperated the People against the Mischiefs of *Tyranny*, both in Church and State.

It must be confess'd therefore that all Persons, who appeal to the People against the Measures of *Men in Power*, may be properly call'd *Incendiaries*, either in a good, or a bad Sense. If They oppose *wicked Measures*, and are actuated by a *Spirit of Liberty*, They are *Incendiaries* in a good Sense, and deserve Encouragement. If They write against *honest Measures*, and are push'd on by a *Spirit of Faction*, They are *Incendiaries* in a bad Sense, and ought to be punish'd.

But the great Difficulty lies in deciding the main Question ; whether the *Spirit*, which hath been raised, is a *Spirit of Liberty*, or a *Spirit of Faction* ; and whether the Measures, that have been opposed, are *good*, or *bad Measures* ; for as it hath been confess'd, on one Side, that *Faction* may sometimes put on the Mask of *Liberty*, and misrepresent *good Measures*, in order to serve her own *bad Purposes* ; so it must be likewise acknowledged, on the other, that *bad Ministers* will never stand in need of *servile Advocates* to flatter and defend their *worst Measures*. This was evident enough in the Reign of King *James II.* when that glorious *Spirit of Liberty*, which exerted itself against Him and his Ministers, was branded with the Name of *Faction*, by the *sycophant Writers* of those Times ; especially by a *Brace of right reverend Prelates*, who (though formerly remarkable for their *beterodox Principles*) undertook the Defence of all the *Court Measures*, and represented Those, who opposed them, as *seditious Libellers* and *Incendiaries*.

The *Writers*, who have *these Words* so often in their Mouths, seem likewise to forget another Thing ; which is that *those Persons* are often the worst Kind of *Libellers* and *Incendiaries*, who appear in behalf of *Courts* and *Ministers* ; as it happen'd in the Case of the *two Bishops* before-mentioned ; whose fulsome Apologies for the Measures of those Times, and libellous Reflections on all Persons, who opposed them, created greater Animosity amongst the *People*, and did the *King* more Disservice, than all the Books, which were written professedly against Him.

I think therefore that my Friend *Humphry* took the best Way of setting this Dispute in a clear Light ; by distinguishing between *Liberty* and *Faction*, and appealing to the Judgment of the *Publick*.

But this Proposal gives the Gentlemen, on the *other Side*, great Disturbance. They are sensible that the *Publick* hath long ago decided the Question against them ;

them; and therefore endeavour to invalidate their *Verdict*, by throwing Contempt upon their Judgment and Morals; as they lately did with respect to *another Jury*.

A *certain Writer*, who appears in the *Daily Courant*, and subscribes Himself the *curfory Observator*, is pleas'd to address Himself to *Me* against my Friend *Oldcastle*; tho' He might easily perceive that *my Sentiments*, as to the main Point in Dispute, are diametrically opposite to *his*, as far as he hath hitherto discover'd them; and though it is not my Business to enter into a full State of the Case between *Oldcastle* and *Him*; yet I can assure Him, in general, very sincerely that I think He is quite wrong in the Argument; and I believe the *Publick* is of the same Opinion.

He seems very angry with the *old Gentleman* for appealing to the *Sale* of our Writings, which He says is no Argument of their *Merit*; and then gives Himself an Air of telling us that He hath *no Concern in the Vending, or Profits of the COURANT*. To which I reply that Mr. *Oldcastle* hath as little Concern in the *Vending, or Profits of the COUNTRY JOURNAL*. I can likewise assure him, that Mr. *Oldcastle* is *merely an accidental Writer, in this Case; first prompted by Zeal and then inflamed by Opposition*; and therefore They are upon the same Foot as to that Point. But supposing, for Argument's Sake, that We cannot judge of the *Merits* of any Writings by the *Sale* of them; yet I hope the *general Approbation* of Those, who *buy and read* Them, will be allowed to be some Proof of their *Merit*. The *Observator* asks us, with a sort of Triumph, *whether the most infamous Writings have not the best Run amongst the Vulgar?* I say *no*; for hath not the contrary appear'd by the Fate of their *own Writings*? As to *Bawdry and Blasphemy* (which, He tells us, *make their Way swiftest into the World*) I take the Case to be quite different; for though *Curiosity and Lewdness* may prevail
on

on many People to *buy* and *read* such Books, yet We very rarely hear Them *applauded*. It is true, for Instance, (as He observes) that *Woolston's Discourses* and *Meursius's Dialogues* have found a Multitude of Readers; but We meet with very few, who publicly approve the *Design* of them.

For my Part, I know no better Test of the *Merits* of any Writings, than the *general Approbation of the Publick*; and I should, with great Chearfulness, submit the Merit of *our Writings*, on both Sides, and the Issue of the *Cause* between us to the Determination of a *national Ballot*.

But I cannot find in my Heart to be angry with *these Writers* for depreciating the *Voice of the People*, and refusing to abide by the Judgment of the *Publick*, which hath already appear'd so very partial and prejudic'd against Them.

The *Observer*, having endeavour'd to palliate his Blunders and Misrepresentations of *Livy* and *Machiavel*, proceeds to some other Remarks upon *Oldcastle's last Letter*, which he seems to think very terse and witty.

The first Thing, says He, *that I observe is the Conduct of three rash and foolish Brothers in Italicks; that stale Way of manufacturing a Joke and making it half the Printer's*. Now I must confess that This was my *own Manufactory*, and not either Mr. *Oldcastle's*, or the *Printer's*; so that if there is really any *Joke* in it, *half* of it, according to *this Writer*, belongs to *Me*. The Design of marking those Words to be printed in *Italicks* was to shew the Reader, according to an usual Custom amongst controversial Writers, that the *Stress of the Argument* lay there; *i. e.* that the Destruction of Rome, by the Gauls, was owing to the *Conduct of three rash and foolish Brothers*; and not to the *Banishment of Camillus*, as he had falsely asserted.

But the *Observer* will have it that there was some farther Design in this *Italick Manufactory*. He explains

plains the *Joke* for us ; and endeavours to ridicule it in this pleasant Manner. *But why three Brothers ? What Crotchet hath the Man got in his Head now ? It is certain that two Brothers have been long the Object of yours and your Coadjutor's Resentment ; but for Shame don't increase your Reckoning at this Rate, &c.*

Is it then always necessary that *Applications and Parallels* (if *This* must pass for one) should run upon all Four ? Or may not *two Cases* be very much alike, tho' they do not agree in every particular Circumstance ? But, to go farther. Did *this Writer* then really never hear of any more than *two Brothers, who have long been the Object of many People's Resentment ?* I fancy I could make a Shift, upon occasion, to point out *four, or five* ; but since *three* will serve our present Purpose, and since he will have the *Joke* out, I must put him in mind of a certain, *pragmatical Politicaster* (to use his own choice Expression) who lately made an ever-memorable Trip to *Hanover*, in his Way to the Court of *Stockholm*. Nay, he was an *Ambassador* too, like the *three Fabii* ; and, like *Them*, was guilty of an *Action*, not altogether prudent, or discreet.

The *Observer* hath one Remark more upon *this Parallel* of his own making, which we must not omit. *He desires us to remember, in justice to the Fabii, that notwithstanding this particular Act of Rashness, there was no Family in the City, to which the Roman Greatness and Liberty owed more than to theirs.*

I presume He would have us apply this Observation to our *English Fabii* ; but I think such a Task belongs more properly to the Advocates of that *illustrious Family*, than either to Mr. Oldcastle or myself. We shall therefore leave it to *Them*, and defy *Them* (as We have already done) to make the Application in a single Instance.

I ask Pardon for having taken so much Notice of *this Writer* ; this *arrant Trifler in Politics* ; which
is

is more, I am sure, than my Friend *Oldcastle* would have taken, had He been in Town; but I was willing to shew how ridiculous it was to appeal to *Me* in a Case of this Nature; or to have any Hopes of flattering the *Craftsman* over to his Cause, whilst the original Motives to *this Undertaking* continue, and seem to multiply upon us every Day.

There are *two other Writers*, who appear'd against Mr. *Oldcastle* last Week; but They prevaricate so egregiously and in so palpable a Manner, that They neither deserve, nor require any Answer. I will however condescend so far as to make two general Observations on their *Method of Reasoning*; which are equally applicable to all their *Coadjutors*.

In the first Place, it is remarkable that they constantly misrepresent the Point in Dispute, by *false Quotations*, or *Affertions*; and then argue upon their *own wrong State* of the Question, which They call *answering*; by which Means They hope to impose on ordinary Readers, and to divert us from the Pursuit of our general Design; for We can no sooner disembroil the true State of the Argument from their clumsy Sophistries, but They immediately endeavour to perplex it again in the same Manner; and thus We might swell up Volumes in the Explanation of *one particular Point* (of no great Importance, perhaps, to the *main Question*) if We were dispos'd to follow Them in such a *Wild-Goose Chase*.

I could exemplify This by Instances from every one of the *Papers*, now before me; but That would be paying Them too great a Compliment, and laying too severe a Penance on the Reader.

In the next Place, it is observable that They are always complaining of *Scurrility*, *Billingsgate* and *personal Abuse*, whilst their *own Writings* consist of nothing else. The *Observer* Himself calls Mr. *Oldcastle* a *Railer*, a *Slanderer*, *Scurra in Triviis*, and several

veral other polite Names, whilst He is appealing to Me against *scurrilous Language*; and his *Coadjutors* observe the same *Decorum* and *Consistency*. One of the Writers, just mentioned, exclaims very loudly against *stigmatizing Gentlemen by Name*; particularly that worthy Senator and Patriot, Sir *W. Y.* which He mentions as a Violation of the *Privilege of Parliament*. But hath not *this Writer* Himself taken the same Liberty with *Gentlemen* of more considerable Distinction? Can He be ignorant that this Liberty was begun by *his Party*, and hath been continued by Them with greater Latitude than it was ever practis'd by *Us*? Does He forget that several Members of the Minority have been mark'd out, by the *initial Letters* of their Names, in the most opprobrious Manner, even *during the Sitting of Parliament*? If his Memory fails Him in these Points, let Him refresh it with reviewing the *London Journal*, the *Flying Post*, and his other *courtly Assistants* for two or three Years past; and He will find this Liberty exercis'd by *Them* ten Times more often and more flagrantly, than He can shew it to have been done by *Us* against his Favourite Sir *W. Y.* or any of his *other Patrons*.

But I scorn to dwell on such *Recriminations*, however just, because They are needless. The *Gentlemen injur'd* have had ample Justice done them in the *good Opinion of the Publick*; which I am sure They esteem the best Justification of their Proceedings. Let *these Writers* therefore only keep to the *Point in Dispute*, and I will promise to consider what They advance by Way of *Argument*, though they mix it up with as much *dirty Invektive* and *personal Abuse* as They please; for it would be unreasonable to restrain Them from making Use of the only Salt and Embellishment, with which They have been able to quicken their Writings.

I cannot conclude this Paper without wishing my Friend, Mr. *Oldcastle*, all the Pleasures of the Season, during

during his Retirement in the Country, and Success in the Affairs, which call'd Him thither. I must likewise desire Him to accept of my thankful Acknowledgments, which I chuse to make in this publick Manner, of all his Favours. I shall now set about preparing his *last Papers* for the Press; by which it will appear, from the *English History*, how necessary it is to the Safety of this Nation to keep the *Spirit of Liberty* always alive, and how it differs from the *Spirit of Faction*.

I shall only add (what, I believe, every Reader will allow) that however contemptible I may be represented myself, I have had the Honour of the *best Advocates*, as well as the Happiness of the *worst Adversaries*, that any *political Writer* ever had, in the same Station.

D.



SATURDAY,

N^o 222. SATURDAY, October 2, 1730.

Some general Remarks on the *English History*, from the *Conquest* to this Time.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.

INTRODUCTION.



FEW Nations have gone through more Revolutions, few Governments have appear'd more unsteady, or fluctuated more between *Prerogative* and *Privilege* than This of *Great-Britain*.

If we are *Freemen*, it is because the *Spirit of Liberty* has been never yet quite extinguish'd among us.

We have been surprized, betray'd, forced, more than once, into Situations little better than That of *downright Slavery*. But these *Usurpations* have not become *Settlements*. They have disorder'd the Frame, but not destroy'd the Principles of a *free Government*. Like cloudy Mornings, They have soon pass'd over, and the Sun of *Liberty* has broke out again with double Force, and double Lustre.

It must be a Pleasure to reflect on that Uniformity of *Spirit*, which created and has constantly preserved, or retrieved the original Freedom of the *British* and *Saxon Constitutions*.

I feel a secret Pride in thinking that I was born a *Briton*; when I consider that the *Romans*, those Ma-

sters of the World, maintain'd their Liberty little more than seven Centuries ; and that *Britain*, which was a free Nation above seventeen hundred Years ago, is so at this Hour.

However savage our *British* Ancestors may be represented by the *Romans*, (whom the Luxury of *Greece* and the Effeminacy of *Asia* had already corrupted) They certainly were a People of *Spirit* and of *Sense* ; who knew the Ends of Government, and obliged their Governors to pursue those Ends.

Cæsar himself acknowledges that They fought boldly for their *Liberties*, when He invaded them ; and there is good Reason to believe, from his manner of Writing and abrupt way of leaving this Island, that They gave Him a warmer Reception than He is willing to own.

But to speak of them after an Author, in whose Time they were better known than they were by *Cæsar*, or even by *Tacitus* ; *Dion Cassius*, when he is about to relate the Expedition of *Severus* into *Britain*, says that they held a great Part of the Government in their own Power.

Their long Resistance against the *Saxons* shews their Love of *civil Liberty*.

Their long Resistance against the Usurpations of the Church of *Rome*, begun by *Gregory*, that Flatterer of *Phocas* and *Brunebault*, under Pretence of converting the *Saxons*, shews their Love of *ecclesiastical Liberty*.

Though the *Saxons* submitted to the Yoke of *Rome*, in Matters of Religion, they were far from giving up the Freedom of their *Gothick* Institutions of Government.

The *Saxon Heretoges* (that is, *publick Generals*) were chosen only to conduct them in *War*, not to rule over them in *War* and in *Peace*.

These *Heretoges*, among the *German Colonies*, who settled in the Countries they conquered and founded
new

new Governments, became *Kings*, and had Trappings enough to set off their Majesty and to enforce their Authority ; but the supreme Power center'd in the *Micklemote*, or *Wittagenmote*, composed of the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Saxon Freemen*, that original Sketch of a *British Parliament*.

Here all important Affairs were treated. The Conduct of their *Kings* was examined in it and controuled by it.

The Rights of the People, in those Days, must have been carried to a very great Height ; since they went Hand in Hand with Those of the *Church* ; and since a positive Law declared that if the King did not defend both, *He should lose even the Name of King. Nec Nomen Regis in eo constabit, verum Nomen Regis perdit.*

The Principles of the *Saxon Commonwealth* were therefore very *democratical* ; and these Principles prevailed through all subsequent Changes.

The *Danes* conquered the Crown, but they wore it little ; and the Liberties of the *Saxon Freemen* they never conquer'd ; nor wrought any Alteration in the Constitution of the Government.

Thus much it was thought necessary to premise concerning the original Constitution of our Government. We now come to that Period of History, from whence We propose to deduce our following Remarks.

WILLIAM, the *Norman*, is come down to us in History under the Character of a *Conqueror* ; and tho' it may be disputed whether he was strictly so any more than several other Princes, who have supported their Titles by their Swords ; yet we must confess that He imposed many new Laws and Customs ; that he made very great Alterations in the whole Model of Government ; and that He, as well

as his two Sons, ruled, upon many Occasions, like *absolute, not limited Monarchs*.

Yet neither *He*, nor *They* could destroy the old Constitution ; because neither *He*, nor *They* could extinguish the old *Spirit of Liberty*.

On the contrary, the *Normans* and other Strangers, who settled here, were soon seized with it themselves, instead of inspiring a *Spirit of Slavery* into the *Saxons*.

They were originally of * *Celtick*, or *Gotbick* Extraction, (call it which you please) as well as the People They subdued. They came out of the same *northern Hive* ; and therefore they naturally resumed the *Spirit* of their Ancestors, when they came into a Country, where it prevailed.

Stephen, the fourth King of this Race, owed his Crown to the good Will of the Nation ; and he owed this good Will to the Concessions he made in Favour of *Liberty*.

John came to the Crown, after the Death of his Father *Henry II.* and his Brother *Richard I.* by the Election of the People. His *Electors*, indeed, found themselves deceived in their Expectations ; for he govern'd in the most extravagant Manner. But they soon made him feel whose *Creature* he was. The Contests between the Laity and an ambitious usurping Clergy ran very high at this Time. *John* had made his Advantage of these Divisions. But the *Spirit of Liberty* prevailed and That of *Faction* vanished

* We have thought fit to explain the Expression, in this Place, though We know the Word *Celtick*, as well as *Scythian*, hath been us'd in the same large and general Sense, which is made use of here ; and We could shew (if such a Trifle deserv'd it) that by the *Celtæ* Antiquity did not always understand the People inhabiting a Part of *Gaul*, notwithstanding the Quotations out of *Polybins*, *Diodorus*, &c. which have been urg'd, by way of Cavil, against us.

before it. Men grew ashamed of being the Tools of *private Ambition*, when *publick Safety* was at Stake. Those of the *high Church* and Those of the *low Church* united in one common Cause. The King blustered and drew out his Army; but it was a *British* Army. No Wonder therefore, if the King submitted and *magna Charta* was signed.

It was signed again by his Son and Successor, *Henry III.* in full Parliament and with the greatest Solemnity. The People however abated nothing of their *jealous, watchful Spirit*; and it was well for *Liberty* they did not. The long Reign of this Prince was one continual Struggle between *Him* and *Them*. The Issue of this Struggle was favourable to the *latter*. By exerting their strength, they encreased it under *Henry III.* They lost no Ground under *Edward I.* and they gained a great deal under *Edward II.*

Thus was the present Constitution of our Government forming it self for about two Centuries and an half; a rough Building raised out of the Demolitions, which the *Normans* had made, and upon the solid Foundations laid by the *Saxons*. The whole Fabrick was cemented by the Blood of our Fathers; for the *British Liberties* are not the *Grants of Princes*. They are *original Rights*, Conditions of *original Contracts*, coæqual with *Prerogative*, and coæval with our *Government*. As such, in the Days we speak of, they were claimed; as such they were asserted by Force of Arms; as such they were acknowledged; and as such they were constantly maintain'd afterwards by that *pertinacious Spirit*, which no Difficulties nor Dangers could discourage, nor any Authority abate; not even That of the *Pope*, as impudently as it was exercised, and as foolishly as it was revered, in those superstitious Ages.

Had *this Spirit* relaxed in the Course of so many Years, our Government must have settled in an *absolute Monarchy*, or *tyrannical Aristocracy*.

The *Norman Kings*, of imperious Tempers, assumed great Power. The *Barons* did the same. The *People* groan'd under the Oppression of *Both*. This Union was unnatural and could not last. The *Barons*, enjoying a Sort of *feudatory Sovereignty*, were often Partners and sometimes Rivals of the *Kings*. They had opposite Interests and they soon clash'd.

Thus was the Opportunity created of re-establishing a more equal free Government than That, which had prevail'd after the *Norman Invasion*.

The *Kings*, the *Barons* and the *Clergy*, not less ambitious or avaricious than either of the others, had powerful Means of promoting their Usurpations. The *Commonalty* had little, or no Share in the Legislature; made no Figure in the Government; and it is hard to conceive how they could act, as the others might, and certainly did, by particular Concerts, to the Advancement of their particular Interests.

All these Disadvantages were supply'd by that *Spirit of Liberty*, which diffused itself through the whole Mass. Numbers were on the Side of the *Commons*. In all Disputes therefore it was necessary to apply to Them. They made the proper Use of such Conjunctions. Whoever lost, they were sure to be Gainers; for so they deem'd themselves, when they suffered all the Hardships of War, and even laid down their Lives in the Quarrel, if they left *Liberty* more improved and better secured to their Posterity.

By Concessions to the *Commons*, our *Kings* maintained and extended their Prerogatives over the *Barons*. By espousing the national Interest, the *Barons* continued able to cope with the *Crown*, till they broke among themselves. Nay even the *Church*, notwithstanding that antient and close Alliance between *secular* and *ecclesiastical Tyranny*, was forced, on some few Occasions, to be a Friend to the Liberties of the *People*.

The *King*, the *Barons* and the *Clergy* were all, in reality, Enemies to *publick Liberty*. Their Party were so many *Factions* in the Nation; yet they all helped, in their Turns, to establish *Liberty*.

So true it is that every Thing, even the Vices of Mankind, and the Misfortunes of a Country, will turn to the Advantage of *Liberty*, where the *Spirit* of it is maintain'd in Vigour; as every Thing, even the good Qualities of Mankind and the Prosperity of a Country, may operate a contrary Effect, where this *Spirit* is suffered to decline.

As losing the *Spirit of Liberty* lost the *Liberties of Rome*, even while the Laws and Constitutions, made for the Preservation of them, remained entire; so we see that our Ancestors, by keeping *this Spirit* alive and warm, regained all the Advantages of a free Government, tho' a *foreign Invasion* had destroyed them, in great Measure, and had imposed a very tyrannical Yoke on the Nation.

O.

P O S T S C R I P T.

ONE Mr. Osborne, as he calls himself in the *London Journal*, has been so kind as to give me the Reasons why my *Papers* sell better than *his*, viz. because they are written *against Men in Power*, with *Spirit*, good *Language* and *some Wit*; which, he says, engage ALL Sorts of People. He then divides my *Buyers* into several Classes; amongst whom we may depend that *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and all the *Enemies of the Government* appear first; but he is so good as to acknowledge that I have some *Friends of the Government* on my Side; but then they are *cool Friends*; that I have *Whigs*; but they are either *expell'd Whigs*, or *unreasonable expecting Whigs*; nay, that I have

honest

honest Men too, who think our foreign Affairs have not been conducted so fortunately, at least, if so prudently, as they could wish; but they are mistaken honest Men. After This, he proceeds to mortify me, by assuring me that amongst sensible Men my Design and my Abilities for reasoning are held in the utmost Contempt; so that all the sensible Men in the Kingdom, it seems, are no sort of People at all; not being included in that general Description of all Sorts of People, whom, he says, my Papers have engaged. But not to insist upon an Inconsistency, a Contradiction, or Absurdity, so common to these Writers, it must be confess'd that, if his State of the Case be true, the Men in Power, whom he vindicates are at least the happiest, if not the best and wisest Men, that ever were in Power; since, I believe, I may venture to affirm that they are the only Men in Power, who have ever had all the sensible Men on their Side; especially, when they have been oppos'd with so much Spirit, good Language, and Wit. It must likewise be acknowledged that the Advocates of these Gentlemen are very lucky Writers, if they have engaged, as Mr. Osborne insinuates, all the sensible Part of the Nation on their Side, without having so much as even said one smart Thing; (for I cannot return Them the Compliment) and without having discover'd any Wit, or good Language in their Writings; or even any Spirit, except That of Billingsgate.

But whether Mr. Osborne's Readers are sensible Men or not, I have no Occasion to describe them under several Classes; since They, as well as himself and his Assistants, may be all comprehended under one and the same Denomination, viz. Those, who feel the immediate benign Influences of Power in Places, or Pensions.

Having thus stated the whole Merit of my Writings, (in which, after an Examination of his own Heart, He thinks he hath done me Justice) He tells us that

He

He will resume the *Argument between us, concerning Liberty and Faction, and promises to keep to the Point in Dispute.* But how does He do This? Why having allowed my *first Position*, (with a little mumbling of the Thistles) *that it is necessary to the Conservation of Liberty, to keep the Spirit of it warm and active amongst the People;* He absolutely denies the Truth of the *second, viz.* that the Spirit, which We have endeavour'd to raise, is a *Spirit of Liberty* and not a *Spirit of Faction*; and how does He prove This? Why, a *Spirit of Liberty*, says He, is an *honest Spirit*, and a *Spirit of good Sense*; but a *Spirit, rais'd against a good Government for ill Ends, is a Spirit of Faction*; ergo, The Spirit, which we have been raising, is a *Spirit of Faction*. Thus are these Writers eternally treading a Circle, and begging the Question, which ought to be prov'd.

Mr. Osborne may depend upon it that I will never accept of his Challenges to prove *that either the Parliament, or the royal Family have made any Attempts upon our Laws, or Liberties*; but I shall not be altogether so scrupulous with Regard to Ministers.

He seems to acknowledge that our *foreign Affairs* have not been conducted so fortunately, or prudently, as We could wish; that our Ministers have been guilty of some *Errors in their Treaties and Negotiations*; that We have been deceived in some Events; and that, in order to keep off a War, We have submitted to some Things, (perhaps, He means in the Case of Dunkirk, &c.) which We should not otherwise have done. But what then, says He? Does This prove that our Liberties are in Danger; or that We are in the Hands of Men, who are, as fast as they can, bringing about our Ruin and Destruction? Is there the least Relation between mere Error, and attacking our Liberties, or destroying the Constitution? There is, no doubt, a great Difference between involuntary Errors, or accidental Miscarriages, and a fix'd, premeditated Design
of

of overturning the Foundations of a Government ; but Mr. Osborne must give me Leave to tell Him and his *Masters* (for He hath *Masters* too, as well as I) that there is likewise a Difference between *accidental Errors*, or *improbable, unlucky Events*, (which no human Wisdom could foresee, or prevent) and a continued Series of *Blunders upon Blunders*, and a long Course of *Male-Administration* founded upon them. I will add, that such a shameless Reiteration of the *same Blunders*, and such an harden'd Perseverance in the *same bad Measures*, after They are known and acknowledged to be such, is the surest Way of *destroying the Liberties and bringing about the Destruction of a Nation*.

I shall leave him to prove that *any Ministers*, who are notoriously guilty of *such Conduct*, are *truly and thoroughly in the Intérests of the People*.

I have now put Mr. Osborne into the right Road again. If He thinks fit to keep in it, I may wait upon Him ; but if he flies out, as He hath hitherto done, and gallops away over Hedges and Ditches, I shall not give myself the Trouble of following Him any more.

I have only a Word to add at present. Though I have promis'd to consider what my Adversaries advance by Way of *Argument* (and *This* is the only one, who can make any Pretences to *Reasoning*) it cannot be expected that I should take Notice of every *little illiterate Fellow*, who may endeavour to interrupt the Course of these Papers, by turning a *national Dispute* into a *personal Altercation between two Writers*, and receives a Salary out of the T——y (more scandalous in Him, who gives it, than in Him, who takes it) for prostituting his Pen in every dirty Cause and in any dirty Manner, as his *Patron* and *Paymaster* directs Him.

D.

SATURDAY,

N^o 223. SATURDAY, October 9, 1730.*Remarks on the History of England, continued.**From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.*

WE are now come to the Reign of *Edward the third*. We must desire our Readers to stop here, and at the Reign of his *Succeſſor* a little; ſince no Reigns can furniſh us with more memorable and pertinent Examples, to ſhew how the *Spirit of Liberty* exerts itſelf in Favour of good *Princes*; how ſlow it is to act even againſt the *worſt*; and yet how effectually it is able to act, even in the moſt *deſperate Caſes*.

* *Vol. 1.* Old *Froiffart* * ſays that the *Engliſh* had
 C. 2. an Opinion, grounded on Obſervations made
 from the Days of good King *Arthur*, that
 between *two valiant and able Princes* in this Nation,
 there always intervenes a King *moins ſuffiſant de ſens*
 & *de Proueſſe*; of *leſs Senſe and Courage*. I ſhall not
 warrant the exact Truth of this Obſervation. The
 Proportion, I fear, is much greater on the *worſt Side*
 in all Kingdoms. But certainly *Edward III.* whoſe
 Story gave Occaſion to *Froiffart* to broach this Anec-
 dote, ſtands between his Father *Edw. II.* and his
 Grandſon *Richard II.* a bright Inſtance of this
 Truth, that great and good *Princes* are Favourers of
Liberty, and find their Account in promoting the *Spiri-*
rit of it; whiſt the *weakeſt and the worſt Princes*
 chiefly

chiefly affect absolute Power, and often meet with the Fate they deserve for such Attempts.

The former know that they have nothing to apprehend from *this Spirit*; and They wisely prefer the generous Efforts of *good Will* and *Affection* to the reluctant Compliances of such as obey by *Force*.

The latter, conscious that they are unable to *lead*, endeavour to *drive* their People. Unworthy to be *Kings*, They struggle to be *Tyrants*.

Few were the Blemishes, which may be thought to tarnish the Lustre of this Reign of *Edward the third*. Few and short were the Struggles between *Him* and his *People*; for as he was fierce and terrible to his *Enemies*, He was amiable and indulgent to his *Subjects*. He not only observed the *Laws*, but He made the *Sense of the Nation*, in some Measure, a *Law* to Him. On this Principle, (in which, to a considering Mind, there will appear as much Wisdom as Goodness) he removed a *Son*, nay a *favourite Mistress* from Court.

Henry IV. if I mistake not, did something of the same Kind; and which of their Successors, after such Examples, could presume to think it below his Dignity to consult the *Inclination of his People*, and make *Them* the Rule of his Conduct?

Under this *great Prince*, the Constitution of our *Parliaments*, and the whole Frame of our *Government* became reduced into a better Form. A *Spirit of Liberty* breathes in the *Laws* of this glorious King; and the Power and Duty of *Parliaments* are set forth, in some of them, with such Terms as would never have been passed by a *Prince*, who had put the least Pedantry, or the least Foppery into his Notions of Kingship.

The *Spirit of Liberty* was not idle in this Reign, tho' it had little, or no Occasion of Exercise against the *Crown*. The Usurpations of the *Church* were many and grievous. They had been long murmur'd against; but a false Respect for *Religion* had hitherto
main-

maintained them. This Delusion began now to be removed. WICKLIFFE arose to dispel this magick Charm; to undraw the Veil of this pretended Sanctuary; and to expose the Horrors and Trifles, which lurked behind it, to publick View, Indignation and Contempt. The *Ax* was now first aimed at the *Root of Popery*; and *Prelates* were taught the first Lessons of Moderation. *Parliaments* sate and proceeded on Business, even on *ecclesiastical Business*, without the Intervention of *Mitres*. There was, I believe, *one Parliament* held, to which few, or none of the *Prelates* were summon'd; in order, perhaps, to teach them how little *their Concurrence* was essential to give due Weight to the *Counsels*, or full Authority to the *Acts of Parliament*.

As *this Prince* lov'd, instead of hating, as He encourag'd, instead of discountenancing, the *Spirit of Liberty* in his People; so he was strengthened and supported by it in such a Manner, and in such Circumstances as cannot be parallell'd.

The Nation had been miserably harrafs'd by *civil Wars* and *Oppressions* of various Kinds, when he came to the Crown. The Burthen of *personal Service*, and the *Taxes* raised to defend the Dominions, which his Predecessors held on the *Continent*, had exhausted all Degrees of People. This Mischief was so much resented by them, that *foreign Interest* and *foreign Counsels* may be justly reckoned among the principal Causes of all the Disputes, and even Wars, between *Them* and their *former Kings*.

In this Situation and in this Temper of Mind was the Nation, when *Edward the third*, by laying claim to the Crown, and undertaking the Conquest of *France*, opened to his Subjects the terrible Prospect of being worse than ever oppressed by the *same Grievances*; and yet his *Nobility* and *Commonalty* seconded him in all these Enterprizes, with fewer Complaints than could have been expected. These Men,

so apt to complain of *Grievances*, and so little patient under them, carried him triumphantly through all his Wars abroad, though they struggled with *Want*, *Pestilence* and *Famine* at home.

What Principle produced this wonderful Change? Did higher Notions of *Prerogative* prevail? Had the Doctrines of a *slavish Submission* at once possess'd our Ancestors? By no means. It was not the Power, it was not the Authority of the *King*, which forc'd; but it was the Character of the *Man*, which invited to these Compliances. The *Spirit of Liberty* exerted it self in favour of the *Patron of Liberty*.

A *corrupt Parliament*, a *degenerate Nobility*, a *servile Commonalty* will sacrifice any Thing to any Prince; to a *Richard the second*, or an *Edward the third*, equally and indiscriminately. But a *free*, a *generous*, a *virtuous People* (such as we may boast our Ancestors were in those Days) will sacrifice every Thing, except *Liberty*, to a Prince like *Edward III.* and *Liberty* is a Sacrifice, which a Prince, like *Him*, will never require at their Hands. To *Him*, who would require it, They would sacrifice nothing. Such a *People* may be *well govern'd* with Ease; and it ought to be hard to *govern them ill*. They will do more for a Prince, whom they *love* and *esteem*, than he has a *Right* to expect from them. If they do *less* for a Prince, whom they *despise* or *hate*, they are surely very excusable.

In order to render this Example still stronger and more useful, it may be proper to point out, besides his general Character, some of those Particulars in the Conduct of *Edward III.* which probably induced his *People* to sacrifice their Estates, and their Lives too, so chearfully in a *Cause*; to which, under *other Princes*, they had been so averse.

In the *first Place*, as his Father *Edward II.* lost his Crown and his Life, in the most miserable Manner, by suffering Himself to be govern'd by his *Ministers*
and

and protecting them from the Resentments of the People; so his *Son* very early exerted his own Authority, and freed Himself from the Guardianship, or rather Subjection, of the *Queen* and *Mortimer*, who had long oppress'd the Nation and dishonour'd the young King by their scandalous Conduct.

The next Reason seems to have been This; though he was magnificent in his *Court*; yet he limited, with great Care, the Exactions of his *Purveyors*; kept a severe Hand over them; and suffered no more to be levied on his People, than what the necessary Expences of his *Household* required. He saved for his *People*, not for *Himself*.

Thirdly; the *Taxes*, layed in his Time, were layed for *visible* and *important Services*, wherein the *Honour* at least of the Nation was concern'd; which every Man knew and approved.

Fourthly; the *Expences* were lessen'd by that *double Oeconomy*, which is so rarely found, or even understood. I mean not only that *inferior Oeconomy*, which consists in the Management of the Receipts and Issues of the *publick Revenue*; but that *superior Oeconomy*, which consists in contriving the great Schemes of *Negotiation* and *Action*. When the Talents for *this Oeconomy* are wanting in *Those*, who govern, the Publick pays for their *Want of Genius*; and the *Prince's*, or *Minister's Errors* are so many additional Taxes on the *People*. When these Talents are not wanting, the very Reverse happens. The Genius of the *Prince*, or *Minister* comes in Aid of the *publick Charge*. Much is saved; and *Art* and *Management* supply it all.

Edward III. began his War against *France*, in conjunction with *German Allies*. He saw no better Expedient at that Time. But as soon as Fortune and Intrigue had procured it for him, He took another shorter, cheaper, and more effectual Method. He supported the Earl of *Monfort*, Competitor with

Charles of Blois, for the Dutchy of Brittany. Avecques les Allemans, & les Brabancons (says Froissart) il n'avoit riens fait, sars despendre grossément ; & l'avoit mexé & demené les Siegneurs de l'Empire, qui avoient prient son Or & son Argent, ainsy qu'ils avoient voulu, & riens fait. Si descendit a la Requeste du Comte joyeusement, &c. that is ; with the Germans and the Brabancons, all he had been able to do was to spend great Sums of Money. The Princes of the Empire, who had taken as much as they would of his Gold and his Silver, and had done nothing for it, were accusom'd to amuse him and to tire him out. He condescended therefore to the Request of the Earl very joyfully.

Fifthly ; it was not owing to his *Success* that the People had a good Opinion of his Enterprizes, and promised themselves an happy Issue, how difficult, or dangerous soever these Enterprizes might appear. Their Confidence was placed, and very justly, in those *Qualities*, and that *Tenor of Conduct*, which they observed in their *King* ; and to which his *prodigious Success* was owing. No Man contrived, prepared, resolved with more Phlegm ; or acted with greater Fire ; the Reverse of his *Successor*, who resolved rashly and executed irresolutely. He waited sometimes for Opportunities ; but he always improved them, when they happen'd ; and those *Accidents*, which govern, or dictate the Measures, and perpetually shift the fluctuating Schemes of *weak Governments*, were bent, by this *great Prince*, to serve the *wisest* and most *steady Purposes*.

Sixthly ; if he drained away some of the national Wealth by *Taxes*, He restored it very amply again, by the great Care he took of extending and improving *Trade* ; by which he opened new Mines of Treasure ; and, for a few temporary Contributions, enriched his People to future Generations. A *Prince*, who adds to the *national Stock*, has a Right to share the Advantages he procures, and may demand *Supplies* from
his

his People, without blushing. But a *Prince*, who lives a *Rent-Charge* on the Nation he governs; who sits on his Throne, like a monstrous *Drone* in the Middle of an *Hive*, draining all the Combs of their Honey, and neither making, nor assisting the *industrious Bees* to make any; such a *Prince*, I say, ought to blush at every Grant he receives from a *People*, who never received any Benefit from *Him*. The Duke of Gloucester told *Richard* the II. on his restoring *Brest* to the Duke of *Brittany*, that he should have taken a Town by his *own Valour* and *Conduct*, before he resigned what his *Ancestors* had left him. Much to the same Purpose might an *oppressed People* justly answer a *craving Prince*. When you have increased the *Riches*, and advanced the *Prosperity* of the Nation, you will have some Right to make *these Demands* upon us; but till then we shall think that you have none. O.

P O S T S C R I P T.

From my own Chambers.

HAVING engaged to consider whatever Mr. Osborne advances with any Appearance of Argument, I must take some Notice of the last *London Journal*; but what I have to say upon it will come within a very small Compass.

He calls this notable Production a DEMONSTRATION that the Author of the Craftsman is a factious Writer; and sums up his Argument against me in the following Syllogism.

Faction is using a good Government ill.

Mr. D'Anvers hath us'd a good Government ill.

Therefore Mr. D'Anvers is a factious Writer.

The Major is allow'd; and I am ready to allow the Conclusion, if Mr. Osborne can carry the Minor to Demonstration, as He hath undertaken.

Having defin'd *Faction* rightly enough, as it is stat-
ed in the *first Proposition* of this Syllogism, He pro-
ceeds to the Definition of *Government* (for He observes
all the *Forms* of Reasoning) in this Manner.

By the *Government*, says He, is meant either the
Constitution, or the governing Powers. That our
Government is good, in both these Senses, will thus
appear; and then begins with saying that our *Consti-
tution* is the best in the World; which I never at-
tempted to *disprove*, and therefore He had no Occa-
sion to insist upon it, or even mention it. The whole
Tenor of my Writings hath been to preserve our *Li-
berties*, by maintaining our *national Constitution*.

I cannot intirely agree with Mr. Osborne, that the
Revolution put us into this blessed State; but I am
willing to acknowledge that it restor'd it to us, and I
hope will maintain us in it.

He adds, that our *Constitution* is not weaken'd since;
but, by many good Laws, very much improv'd. This
is a Subject of too nice a Nature to be handled freely
and would require more Room than I have at present.
It must be confess'd, indeed, that the *Design* of the
Revolution was to strengthen our *Liberties*, and the
Success of it gave us an Opportunity of improving our
Constitution. How far We have made Use of this
Opportunity, I shall not contend; but it cannot be de-
nied that many good Laws have been made since; par-
ticularly the late Act against *Bribery* and *Corruption*,
which was certainly a *national Point*, because it af-
fected one of the most essential Parts of our *Consti-
tution*. I could have wish'd likewise that the other
Bill, which pass'd the *House of Commons* last Session;
had met with the same Success in the *House of Peers*;
but the remarkable Unanimity of their *spiritual Lord-
ships* upon this Occasion (in which a Point of *Religi-
on*, as well as *Morality*, was concern'd) ought to make
us, no doubt, very diffident of our own Opinions,
and forbear all Reflections.

I must however desire Mr. Osborne to lay his Hand upon his Heart, (that *righteous Hand*, which, He says, He would sooner lose than employ it against *Liberty*) and examine Himself impartially upon the *septennial Act*, the *Riot Act*, and some Parliamentary Variations from the *Act of Settlement*. I confess, I should be very glad to see it *demonstrated* that These were *national Points*, and that They have *strengthened our Liberties*, or *improv'd our Constitution*.

He then proceeds to take the *governing Powers* into Consideration; *by which*, says He, *We mean the King, and his Council*. If Mr. Osborne had said the *Gentlemen in the ADMINISTRATION*, instead of the *KING and his Council*, his Definition would have been much more fair, in this Case, and come nearer to the *Point* between us; but as *these Men* can never argue without bringing the *King* into their Quarrel, We must submit to it. And how does He *demonstrate* (for it was *Demonstration*, which He promis'd us) that the *governing Powers are good*? No otherwise than by telling us that a *Government is good*, which observes the *Laws of the Land*, and enters into no *Measures*, at home or abroad, to abridge us of our *Liberties*, or *lessen the Security of Them*; that is, no *Government can be bad*, which does not openly invade our *Laws and Liberties*, as King James did, though They are guilty of never so much *male Administration*, which may produce the same Effect. He does not seem to consider (what is very *true and demonstrable*) that a Nation may be reduced, by *wicked, or ignorant Ministers*, to the last Degree of *Poverty* and even *Ruin*, without any Interruption of the *ordinary Course of Justice*, or any such Invasion of our *Liberties*, as He supposes; and yet, it seems, They must not be opposed without the Imputation of *Faction*.

It is observable that Mr. Osborne hath very artfully retracted the Concessions, which He made in his last
Paper

Paper, *that our foreign Affairs have not been so prudently conducted, as we could wish, in order to support this new Doctrine of Liberty and Faction.*

He tells us farther, that We are to judge by *A P P E A R A N C E S*, *which ought to regulate our Opinions and Actions; and that He is, by all Men, esteem'd, a factious Writer, who endeavours to distress and disturb such a Government as ours, which carries about it all the Characters and Signs of Health and Vigour, of Equity and Liberty.*

He then adds, by Way of Triumph. *T H U S* *does our Government appear good; from whence follows the Demonstration that Mr. D'Anvers is a factious Writer.*

Such *Demonstrations* as These put me in Mind of *Serjeant Kite, the Conjuror's* learned Etymology of that Word. *Demonstration*, says He, *comes from Dæmon, the Father of Liars.*

I must crave the Reader's Patience, whilst I make an Observation or two on one more Passage in this Paper, which I am afraid will look a little selfish and personal between us *Gentlemen of the Quill*. But Mr. Osborne must not be neglected.

This great Writer seems to be very angry with me for saying (in Return to his abusive Account of *my Admirers*) *that Mr. Osborne, his Assistants and Readers, may be all compriz'd under the general Denomination of Those, who feel the immediate benign Influences of Power, in Places or Pensions; to which He replies thus. All I have to say to This is (what I believe Mr. D'Anvers will agree with me in) that neither Himself, nor Osborne would be at the Pains of writing weekly Papers for, or against any Ministry, without finding, or expecting some Interest in it. I will be as short, and yet as plain, upon this Head as possible.*

I do not see any Reason why a *Man of Letters* may not expect to make an Advantage of his *Writings*, as
well

well as by any other *liberal Profession*; for a *liberal Profession* it certainly is, when it is practised with Abilities in a *good Cause*, or from a *good Principle*.

Mr. Osborne will conclude from this Position that I was far from designing to censure *Him*, or any other *Author*, for the *Interest*, which He may make of his Writings, either by the *Sale of them*, or the *Presents*, which He may receive from Those, who approve Them.

But He must give me Leave to make a wide Difference between writing with a View to these *honest Profits*, and entering into the regular Pay of a *Minister*, to palliate *notorious bad Measures*, and support Him in Power by *writing away the Liberties of our Country*.

Since I am upon this Head, Mr. Osborne will give me Leave to apply my self to one of his *worthy Friends* and put Him in Mind that even a *Garret Pension under a Printer* is a more honest and reputable Employment than That, which I have just mentioned; and therefore I should look upon Him, as a *Fool* or a *Madman*, as well as a *bad Englishman*, who engages in *such a Cause*, without *Reward*, or the *Expectation of Reward*; but I think the *Minister*, who lists Him into his Service, ought to pay Him out of his *own Pocket*; and it seems very ridiculous to hear a Man call Himself a *free Briton*, whilst He receives the *Wages of Slavery*.

I am however glad to hear this Acknowledgment of *Places and Pensions*; because it is a manifest Declaration to the World that the *great Man* hath, at length, condescended to appeal to the *Pen*, which is an Appeal to the *Publick*; and even *He*, I think, cannot have the Assurance, after This, to make Use of his Power against any Writers, when He hath retain'd Men in his *own secret Service* at the *publick Expence*.

Since therefore the Cause, in Dispute between us, is refer'd to the *Press*, let the *Press* decide it, without

out any *extraneous Authority*. The Instruments of Power are *foul Weapons*, and ought never to be practised upon *this Stage*.

I don't know whether Mr. Osborne will think that I have been *decent* and *civil* enough in these Remarks; but I have used such Terms, as our *Case* requires. Whatever the *Ministry* may have done, the *Writers for the Ministry* make it necessary to exert a *Spirit of Liberty*; and I hope We shall never want some Persons, who will have the Courage to exert it, notwithstanding any ill Consequences, even the Hazard of *Life* it self.

For my own Part, as I am far from being proud of Mr. Osborne's *Compliments* (which he may *retract*, as soon as He pleases, according to Custom) so He may assure Himself that I do not stand in the least Dread of any Returns or Reprisals from *Himself* or his *Masters*.
D.



N^o 224. SATURDAY, October 16, 1730.

REMARKS on the History of England, continued.

* From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



HE glorious Scene of Government, which display'd itself, in the Reign of *Edward the third*, was strangely altered on the Succession of *Richard the second*; a violent, haughty, obstinate and weak Prince; whose Reign, as one of our Historians observes, affords but little Matter that

* Mr. Francklin was taken up for printing this Paper and the preceding one, on the Reign of *Edward the third*; but no farther Prosecution hath been yet commenc'd against Him on that Account.

may

may shine in History ; and cannot boast of any one great and distinguish'd Captain ; any one memorable Battle, or important Siege ; but Prorogations of Truces, Abstinencies, Sufferances, Patiences, Tolerances were the Language and Amusement of the Times ; and Treaties were all the while kept on Foot for a perpetual Peace ; Treaties, says He, hitherto fruitless, illusory and impracticable.

It must be confess'd that the Reins of Government hung pretty loose in the Hands of Edward III. towards the latter End of his Reign ; from whence proceeded the Growth of those *Factions*, which disturbed the Beginning of his Grandson's Reign. Some Part of This was owing, very probably, to the Abuse of *Wickliffe's* Doctrines ; more to the cruel Treatment, which the inferior Part of the *Commonalty* received. The *Lords* grew Tyrants, and the *Commons* Rebels. But these Commotions were soon suppressed by the united Force of the rest of the Nation ; much sooner, and with Consequences less fatal than in other Countries, where *Rebellion* and *popular Insurrections* seem to have been the epidemical Distempers of that Age.

If the *Spirit of Faction* was soon quelled among the *Commons*, it prevailed openly, scandalously, and dangerously in the *Court*. Something of it might be discerned, perhaps, among the *Lords*, who opposed the *Court* ; even in the Duke of Gloucester, the Favourite of the People ; in the Duke of Lancaster, a wise Prince, and who acted long the moderating Part ; in *Arundel* and others. Nothing of it was to be observ'd in the general Proceedings of *Parliament*, and in the *national Conduct*.

The Justness of the Character, given before of *Richard the second*, discover'd itself very early in his Actions. He had a *Brutality* and a *good Opinion of himself* ; one of which might have betray'd him into a Discovery of what it was his Interest to conceal, if the other had not made him capable of doing it, even
on

on Reflection. Hence came those famous and foolish Sayings of this Prince, which History has preserved, and which gave his People timely Warning what they had to expect from him. Of his *Commons* He said, *that SLAVES they were, and SLAVES they should be.* Upon an Address from *Parliament* to remove his *Chancellor* and *Treasurer*, his Answer was, *that he would not remove, at their Request, the meanest Scullion out of his Kitchen.*

However, He found Men, as all *Princes* may easily do, who flatter'd him in his *Vices* and *Follies*; such Men, for Instance, as *Nevil, Vere, Poole, Tressilian*, and others; who, to fasten Him to *themselves*, made the *Nation* odious to Him; as They made Him odious to the *Nation* by their Rapine, their Insolence, and by a weak Administration; which exposed the Kingdom to be invaded by the *Scots*, and threatned and insulted by the *French*.

During all this Time, *Parliaments* met frequently, and gave *necessary Supplies*; some *Grievances* They redressed; but bore the Male-Administration of the *Court Faction* till the tenth Year of this King; when They prosecuted the *Favourites* with great Justice; with Temper, and yet with Vigour. They spared nothing to provide for the Defence of the Kingdom by *Sea* and *Land*; and having put the Administration, for a Time, into the Hands of Persons chosen by *Themselves*, gave the King such a Warning, as might have taught Him to abandon a *Faction*, and to throw himself on his *People*; but it prov'd in vain. His *favourite Ministers* persuaded him *that* They suffered for his Sake; *that the Aim of their Enemies was to dethrone Him by disgracing Them*; and whilst all the Troubles of his Reign were due to his Support of *Them*, they made Him believe that they suffered for executing *his Orders*, and maintaining *his Authority*. —Nay, They represented to Him that, by *accusing the Counsellors*, a Man plainly shews that He believes
the

the Sovereign incapable of governing; and that the readiest Way to discredit a Prince, is persuading his Subjects that He makes Use of ill Ministers.—These Arguments and Artifices, ridiculous as They seem, succeeded and had their Effect for some Time longer.

The *deluded King* enter'd into a closer Conjunction than ever with his *Ministers*. He took their Iniquities on Himself; made their Cause his own; was privy to their Plots of poisoning their Enemies; of packing Juries; of corrupting the Judges to give Opinions against Law; and to all that dirty Work, which *They* wanted, not *He*. Nay, by his Encouragement, *They* raised Troops; and a Battle was fought in *their Quarrel*; but *They* were defeated; and the *fourteenth Parliament*, called the *Wonder-working Parliament*, having punished the *Judges* and *Ministers* with proper Severity, endeavour'd to reconcile the *King* and his *People*. *They* gave him *great Subsidies*, and renewed their *Homage and Fealty* to Him.

Even all This still prov'd in vain. No Experience was sufficient to reclaim *Richard II.* He govern'd tyrannically at home, and took a *Wife* and bought a *Peace* from *France*. It is remarkable that the *Peace* cost him 400,000 *l.* much more than he got by his *Wife*. His favourite *Ministers* had, before this Time, endeavour'd to persuade him to give up *Calais*, and purchase the Friendship of *France* to assist him against the *Lords* and *others*, who opposed him. This is not the last, nor least, Instance of conducting *foreign Affairs* purely with Regard to the Interest of *Ministers*, and without any to the Honour and Interest of the *Nation*.

The *Factions* among the great Men were of double Advantage to the King for a Time.

First, the Body of the *People*, who shewed themselves sufficiently animated with a *Spirit of Liberty*, grew cool in espousing the Quarrels of the *Lords*, after they thought *Liberty* secured by the Proceedings of *Parliament*, in the tenth Year of this King; and

though many particular Actions of Violence, of Treachery, and of Cruelty were committed by *Rich. II.* They bore all with the greatest Patience for several Years.

In the *next Place*, these *Factions* among the great Men enabled the King to divide them ; to play one against the other ; and to build up his Tyranny on the Ruins of both. His Uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, was basely betray'd and barbarously murder'd by Him. He procur'd a *pack'd Parliament*, consisting of Men imposed on the Shires and Towns by the King's Authority, wholly managed by Court Favourites, and which bent all its Endeavours to destroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People. With the Help of such a Parliament, He wreaked Vengeance on Those, who had opposed him ; got his Authority exalted above all Law, and exercised a most cruel Tyranny.

The People still bore ; and it is probable that the King, and others as well as He, imagined that they would be obliged to bear on ; since the whole Legislature united in their Oppression. But in This He was deceived. When the Parliament took the Part of the People, the People followed the Motions of Parliament. When They had no Hopes from Parliament, They followed the first Standard, which was set up against the King. The same Spirit of Liberty, which had been so slow to act under so many Provocations, acted with the greatest Vigour, when it was least expected. The King, at the Head of an Army in Ireland, the Duke of York at the Head of another in England, and the Earl of Salisbury at the Head of a third, could do the King no Service. The Armies would not fight for the King against their Country. The whole Nation abandon'd Him, or acted against Him. Some of his Ministers were hang'd ; particularly Those, who had been the great Instruments of taxing and oppressing the People. He was, at length, forced to resign, and to subscribe an Instrument with his own Hand, by which He confess'd Himself unworthy to govern the King-

Kingdom any longer. This *Instrument of Resignation* was not only unanimously approved of in Parliament, but *Articles of Accusation* were ordered to be drawn up against Him, to justify their Resolution of *deposing* Him. These *Articles* were thirty-five in Number, setting forth the Particulars of his *Misgovernment*; two of which are to this Effect.

That He had put the Administration of the publick Affairs in the Hands of unexperienc'd and ill designing Persons, to the great Damage of the People, who were loaded with excessive Taxes.

That in his Negotiations with foreign Princes, He had made Use of so many Equivocations and Sophistries, that none would take his Word any more.

It is very observable that these Extremities fell upon Richard II. at a Time, when every Thing seem'd to contribute to his Support, in the Exercise of that arbitrary Power, which He had assumed. Those, whom He had most Reason to fear, were remov'd either by *violent Death*, or *Banishment*; and others were secured in his Interest by *Places*, or *Favours at Court*. The great Offices of the Crown, and the Magistracy of the whole Kingdom were put into such Hands, as were fit for his Designs; besides which, He had a *Parliament* entirely at his Devotion; but all these advantageous Circumstances serv'd only to prove that a Prince can have no real Security against the just Resentments of an injur'd and exasperated Nation; for, as *Rapin* observes upon the sad Catastrophe of this Reign and That of Edward II; in such Governments as That of England, all Endeavours used by the King to make Himself absolute are but so many Steps towards his own Downfal.

It is farther observed, by another eminent Writer upon this Reign, (which He justly calls a Reign of Favourites) that the King, in his Distress, saw Himself forsaken by Those, whom He should have forsaken before; the very Men, who had so much flatter'd Him with their excessive Love and Loyalty; and, like those

mean Insects, which live with a little Warmth, but shrink at any Change of Weather, They, who had contributed to all his Errors in his Prosperity, transplanted their Zeal into the new Sunshine, as soon as his Successor demand'd the Crown. O.

From my own Chambers.

MR. Osborne, having already found some Interest in writing weekly Papers against me, and perhaps expecting more, thinks Himself obliged to answer, that is to contradict, every Thing I say. With this honest View He hath given us, in the last *London Journal*, a very courtly Libel on the Memory of King Edward III. who hath been hitherto represented, by all Historians, as one of the most glorious Monarchs, that ever sat on the *English Throne*; but since this Reign will not serve the present Turn of *his Masters*, He endeavours to earn his Money by defaming and aspersing it. 'Tis true, says He, that King Edward was a brave fighting Prince, but This, it seems, is a dreadful Example to recommend to us; and Providence could hardly send us a worse Plague than a FIGHTING KING. Now, if I were dispos'd to construe the Writings of my *Adversaries*, as They construe mine, I could almost make high Treason of this Paragraph; and I am very sure that if I had spoken so contemptuously of *heroick Kings*, it would have been most clamorously objected by *these Writers*, that my Design was to cast an infamous Reflection on that great Monarch, who hath been so justly extoll'd, by the whole Nation, for his *military Atchievements*; but I scorn to exaggerate Matters and strain bad Meanings, as Mr. Osborne does. Let Him only remember (to use his own Words) that he hath said THIS; and also, that our fighting King consum'd, in ONE FRUITLESS EXPEDITION, 900,000 Marks; which, at this Time,

Time, would be seven, or eight Millions Sterling. I say, let Him remember, what all Men, who have any Sentiments of Honour and Virtue, will never forget.

Since Mr. Osborne is thus honourably engaged, I shall expect to see, next Week, an elaborate Panegyrick on the Reign of *Richard II.* because I have taken the Liberty to censure it this Week; for as He hath undertaken to confute Mr. *Oldcastle* and *Me* in all our Remarks on the *English History*, He seems to lye under the same Obligation to justify *those Princes*, whom We condemn, as to blacken *Those*, whom We celebrate.—I must particularly advise Him, as a Friend, to lay in a good Stock of *Scandal* against Queen *Elizabeth*, and an equal Quantity of *Compliments* upon her Successor King *James the first*; with which he may furnish Himself from *Pepish* and *slavish Writers*.

But to be serious. If Mr. Osborne is resolv'd to continue cavilling in this idle Manner, He must not expect any farther Notice; for there is *one egregious Fallacy*, which runs thro' all his Reasonings.

He supposes, thro' the whole Course of his Observations, that our Design in *these Remarks* is to recommend all the Measures of our *antient Kings* to *present Imitation*; and to insinuate that our *Liberties* were better secur'd in *those Reigns* than they have been *since*; whereas nothing can be farther from the Truth; our only Intention being to shew how gloriously our Ancestors contended for their *natural Rights*, under the greatest Disadvantages, as it is always necessary for a *free People* to do; and that *those Princes* reign'd the most happily, who favour'd the *Spirit of Liberty* most; as *They* were the most unfortunate, who endeavour'd to suppress it. Nobody, for Instance, can have a worse Opinion than I have of such a *romantick, fighting King*, as Mr. Osborne describes, *who is dispos'd to quarrel with his Neighbours, and extend his Dominions*. I heartily wish that We could always be contented with our *own Dominions*; and that our *Kings, or their Ministers,*

G ?

would.

would never involve us in a *Quarrel with our Neighbours*, where *our own Interest* is not concerned. But I cannot help thinking, at the same Time, that if the Nation must be put to the Expence of *Armies and Fleets*, They ought to have a little *Fighting* for their Money, and not be obliged to suffer every neighbouring State to insult them, whilst They have *their Swords ready drawn in their Hands*.

The Reader will remember that We made this Distinction in the Case of *Edward the third*. We took Notice that nothing could have render'd the Prospect of being engag'd in a bloody and expensive War, on Account of *foreign Dominions*, tolerable to the People of *England*, but the great, good Qualities of their *King*, and their Confidence in Him. This made them supply him very liberally with Money, whilst they saw it expended for the *Glory* of the Nation at least, if not for its *Interest*; and Mr. *Osborne* himself observes that they kept a more sparing Hand, at the latter End of his Reign, when He took *other Measures* and suffer'd Himself to be govern'd by his *Favourites*.

It is not therefore the Design of these Papers, as Mr. *Osborne* asserts, to calumniate the *present Times*, by extolling the *past*; but to make the People of *this Age* wiser and happier by the Experience of *Those*, which are gone before; to recommend *those Measures*, which made the Reigns of *former Kings* glorious; and to point out *those Rocks*, upon which *other Kings* have split. This is certainly the most laudable End of all *political Writings*; and therefore, I hope, such Lessons of Instruction will not be thought impertinent, or beneath the Notice of the wisest Prince upon Earth.

Mr. *Osborne* hath made use of another *fallacious Argument* in several of his Papers, particularly in his last. When He is press'd upon the Subject of *Liberty* and *Faction*, He recurs immediately to this Distinction. It was a *Spirit of Liberty*, says He, which exerted itself against the late King *James*; but the

Spirit

Spirit, which exerted itself against King *William*, was a *Spirit of Faction*. When he hath said This, He thinks that He hath clinch'd the Argument. I call this *fallacious*; because though the Position is *partly true*, it is likewise *partly false*. I might also call it *disingenuous*; because he knows it to be a Point, which will not admit of a *free Examination*.

Having reason'd in this notable Manner, for above two Columns, Mr. *Osborne* concludes, as usual, with an *Io Pæan*, in the following sarcastical Quibble. *Let them then not talk about the Sense of the Nation, till the People are in their Senses*, A very pretty Compliment upon the Body of a Nation! who must be suppos'd to be *out of their Senses*, because they cannot approve of *this Author's Writings* and the *Conduct of his Masters*. It is exactly the same Case with That of the *sober Gentleman in Bedlam*, who, being ask'd what brought Him there, reply'd that *all the World was run Mad, except Himself*, and had therefore combined to lock Him up.

D.



SATURDAY,



N^o 225. SATURDAY, Octob. 24, 1730.

Notwithstanding the Exceptions, that have been taken to our former Remarks, and which have drawn some uncommon Proceedings upon Mr. Francklin, we are determin'd to prosecute our Design, and humbly apprehend that any Englishman hath a Privilege (as long as the Liberty of the Press continues) to give the Publick an Abstract of the English History, and to make such Observations upon it, as naturally result from it. As for Mr. Oldcastle and my self, we shall always take particular Care not to assert any Thing, in the Course of these Remarks, but what we can justify by undoubted Authority from the best Historians.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



FROM the Reigns of *Edward III.* and *Richard II.* we shall hasten downwards, as fast as some necessary Observations will permit. Those of the Princes of *York* and *Lancaster* form a Period of more than eighty Years, which passed in *foreign* and *civil Wars*; in frequent *Revolutions* of Government, and in all those Disorders, which usually accompany and follow such *Revolutions*.

The Party of *Richard II.* even after the Death of that unhappy Prince, broke out into open Rebellion against *Hen. IV.* but their Efforts were vain. He held the Crown fast, which the *Parliament* had given him; and the chief of his Opposers perish'd in their Attempts.

tempts. Happy had it been, if they alone had suffer'd ; But here we must observe a necessary and cruel Consequence of *Faction*. As it oppresseth the whole Community, if it *succeeds* ; so it often draws Oppression, not on itself alone, but on the whole Community, when it *fails*. The Attempts to dethrone Henry IV. justified him, no doubt, in supporting himself by a *military Force*. They excused him likewise, very probably, in the Minds of many, for governing with a *severe Hand* ; for doing several *illegal* and *tyrannical Actions* ; for invading the Privileges of *Parliament* ; at least, in the Point of *Elections* ; and for obtaining, by these Means, *frequent* and *heavy Taxes* on the People ; for as all This might appear the harder, because it happen'd in the Reign of a *King*, who had no Title to his Crown but the *good Will of the People*, and the *free Gift of Parliament* ; so it might appear, on the other Hand, the less grievous, because some Part of it was render'd necessary by the Opposition, which a *Faction* made to a *parliamentary Establishment* ; and because the rest of it was represented, perhaps, under that Umbrage, to be so likewise, by the *Court Logick* of that Age.

A People may be persuaded to bear patiently a great deal of Oppression, as long as they can be persuaded that they bear it only to defend their *own Choice* and to maintain their *own Acts* ; but if they discover This to be nothing more than a *Pretence*, by which *such Powers* are kept up as are unnecessary to their Security, and dangerous to their *Liberty* ; by which the Wealth of the whole Nation is drained into the Coffers of a *few* ; and by which, in one Word, they become exposed to *Ruin* by the very *Means*, which they took to avoid it ; it cannot be expected that they will be patient very long.

It deserves particular Notice that although Henry IV. was willing to shew his Clemency, at the Beginning of his Reign, by inflicting a very slight Punishment on the *wicked* and *bated Ministers* of the late King ;

King ; yet it being alledged in their Excuse *that Richard had compelled them to act, the Parliament took Occasion from thence to pass an Act, by which it was declared that, for the future, Compulsion should be no legal Excuse to justify Actions, contrary to Law.* 'The Reasonableness and Expediency of *this Act* are very manifest ; for it is the indispensable Duty of a good Minister to dissuade his Master from all *illegal Measures* ; or, if He cannot prevail, to quit his Service, rather than suffer Himself to be made the Instrument of Them ; and if the *Commands of the Prince* were to be allow'd a *sufficient Justification*, the Prerogative of *doing no Wrong* would be extended to *Ministers*, and nobody would be left accountable for *male Administration*.

In the short, but triumphant, Reign of *Henry V.* the *Spirit of Faction* was awed ; and the *Spirit of Liberty* had no Occasion of exerting itself ; at least, with Struggle and in any signal Manner, under a Prince just, moderate and pious, according to the Religion of those Times.

The Reign of his Son was the Reign of *Faction* ; and it discloses an horrid Scene of *Iniquity, Folly, Madness.* The scandalous Management of *publick Affairs*, which brought infinite Loss and Dishonour to the Nation, gave real Occasion, as well as Pretence, to Commotions and Insurrections. The contemptible Character of the Man, who sat on the Throne, revived the Hopes of the Faction of *York.* The Faction of *Lancaster* took the Alarm. Most of the great and active Men were attached to one Side, or to the other, by Obligation, by Resentment, by Hopes, or by Fears. The *national Interest* was sunk, to the Shame of the Nation, in the particular Interest of *two Families.*

In the *civil Wars*, which happened a Century and an half, or two Centuries before this Time, the Point in Dispute was *how* the People should be governed. In *These* we are speaking of, the Point in Dispute

Dispute was *who* should govern. The *first* was worth contending for and deserved all the Blood, which was shed in the Quarrel. But This cannot be said of the *last*, which ought always to be look'd upon with great Indifference ; except in Cases, where it has so immediate and necessary a Relation to the *first*, that securing the *first* depends, in a great Measure, on settling the *last*. Such Cases have happen'd ; and particular Instances may be easily found ; but the contrary Cases, where Men have fought for *Governors*, without regard to *Government*, are easy to be found likewise ; and That was plainly the Case of the two Factions of *York* and *Lancaster*.

The *Parliaments*, in those Days, seem'd to be in another Temper ; very little concerned *who* was King, and very much to preserve the *Constitution*. In the many *Revolutions*, which happen'd, each Side would have the *Parliament* for them. Whatever *Titles* They set up, They were glad to hold the Crown by the Grant, or by the Confirmation of *Parliament*. The *Parliament* wisely complied, whoever prevailed. The Chance of War determined *who* should be King ; at one Time *Henry VI.* at another *Edward IV.* and the *Parliament* accordingly placed Them on the Throne and settled their Government.

There is another Observation, which ought to be made, before we leave this Period of Time. The Reigns of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV.* had shewn the dangerous Consequences of that *Influence*, which the Crown had obtained in the *Elections of Members of Parliament*. The watchful *Spirit of Liberty* was soon alarmed, and prevailed to make such Regulations about *Elections*, and about the Qualifications of the *Electors* and the *Elected*, as seem'd, at that Time, sufficient to prevent this Influence for the future. These *Regulations* appear in several Laws, made during the Reigns of the *three Lancastrian Princes* ; and our *Elections* proceed, in a great Measure, upon them to this very Day. These *Regulations* have required

quired and must, in the Nature of Things, require to be altered, as the Course of *Accidents*, or the Change of *national Circumstances* shall suggest Reasons for so doing. But then such *Alterations* have been, and ought always to be contrived so as to adapt them better, and to enforce them more strongly; because the *Principle*, on which they are founded, can never vary, and is so essential to the Preservation of *Liberty*, that if it be lost, and if a Practice in Opposition to it should ever prevail, the *Ballance* of our Government would be that Moment lost, and the *British Constitution* left at the Mercy of any *ambitious Prince*, or *wicked Minister*.

For this Reason, *Mr. Rapin* observes very justly *that there are but two Ways of depriving the English of their Liberties; either by laying aside Parliaments, or bribing Them*; and, in another Place, He says *that the English Freedom will be at an end, whenever the Court invades the free Election of Parliaments*.

It is necessary to insist upon this Observation a little; because it hath been ridiculed, tho' dully, and great Pains have been taken to explode the Doctrine contained in it; which was laid down in these Words. *In a Constitution like ours, the Safety of the Whole depends on the Ballance of the Parts; and the Ballance of the Parts on their mutual Independency on each other*. These Words, it seems, even with Those of *Thuanus* to explain them, convey no Idea to the *London Journalist*; but This will be found, as I apprehend, to be *his Fault*, or *his Defect*; not *Oldcastle's*. A Man born without the Sense of Hearing, or stopping his Ears, and determined at any Rate not to hear, may be deaf to the Voice of *Stentor* himself.

I shall not enter into any Altercations with the *London Journalist*, nor go out of the Road to have the Honour of such Company. But when I meet Him in my Way, I shall encounter Him frankly; without the least Fear of being crush'd by the Weight of his *Arguments*; or, which is more, by the Power of his *Patron*.

To say, like *this Author*, that the carrying on of *Business*, and maintaining Government by Powers absolutely distinct, and absolutely independent, is a meer Utopian Scheme, must proceed from Ignorance, or Folly. Have not Powers, absolutely distinct and independent, been join'd by federal Unions? Are no such Examples to be found, even at this Day? Has not This been brought about by the very Reason given to prove that it can never happen; because Men agree when they see Reason for Agreement; and they see Reason for Agreement, when they see their Interest in agreeing? Osborne could not be in earnest, when he let such Stuff fall from his Pen. He meant to elude the Argument, and to perplex his Readers, or he meant nothing. But This shall not pass. The Matter is too important. He shall be talk'd to, as he desires, without a Metaphor; and what has been advanced shall be applied to our Government.

A King of Great Britain is that supreme Magistrate, who has a negative Voice in the Legislature. He is entrusted with the executive Power; and several other Powers and Privileges, which we call Prerogatives, are annexed to this Trust. The two Houses of Parliament have their Rights and Privileges; some of which are common to both; others particular to each. They prepare, they pass Bills, or they refuse to pass such as are sent to them. They address, represent, advise, remonstrate. The supreme Judicature resides in the Lords. The Commons are the grand Inquest of the Nation; and to Them it belongs likewise to judge of national Expences, and to give Supplies accordingly.

If the legislative, as well as the executive Power, was wholly in the King, as in some Countries, He would be absolute; if in the Lords, our Government would be an Aristocracy; if in the Commons, a Democracy. It is this Division of Power, these distinct Privileges attributed to the King, to the Lords, and to the Commons, which constitute a limited Monarchy.

Again ; as they constitute a *limited Monarchy*, so the Wisdom of our Government has provided, as far as human Wisdom can provide, for the Preservation of it, by this *Division of Power*, and by these *distinct Privileges*. If any *one Part* of the *Three*, which compose our Government, should, at any Time, usurp more Power than the *Law* gives, or make an ill Use of a *legal Power*, the *other two Parts* may, by uniting their Strength, reduce this Power into its proper Bounds, or correct the Abuse of it ; nay, if at any Time *two* of these Parts should concur in usurping, or abusing Power, the Weight of the *third* may, at least, retard the Mischief, and give Time and Chance for preventing it.

This is that *Ballance*, which has been so much talked of ; and This is the Use of it. Both are plain to common Sense, and to Experience ; as will appear farther in the Course of these Remarks ; where we shall have Occasion to shew how often the proper Use of *this Ballance* has saved our Constitution ; and to what Misfortunes we have been exposed by the Neglect, or improper Use of it.

Since this *Division of Power*, and these *distinct Privileges* constitute and maintain our Government ; it follows that the *Confusion* of them tends to destroy it. This Proposition is therefore true ; that, *in a Constitution like ours, the Safety of the Whole depends on the Ballance of the Parts*. Let us see whether it be true *that the Ballance of the Parts consists in their mutual Independency*.

To speak again without any *Metaphor*, the *Power*, which the several Parts of our Government have of *controuling* and *checking one another*, may be called a *Dependency on one another*, and may be argued for by Those, who want to throw Darknes round them, as the *Dependency* opposed to the *Independency*, mention'd in the *Proposition*. But the Fallacy is gross. We have shewn that this *Power of Controul* in each,
which

which results from the *Division of Power* amongst all the Parts of our Government, is necessary to the Preservation of it ; and thus a Sort of *constitutional Dependency*, if I may have Leave to express my self in that Manner, is created among Them ; but this *mutual Dependency* cannot be opposed to the *Independency* pleaded for. On the contrary, this *mutual Dependency* cannot subsist without such an *Independency* ; for whenever this *Independency* is lost, the *mutual Dependency* is that Moment changed into a *particular, constant Dependency* of one Part on two ; or, which is still more unreasonable, of two Parts on one. The *constitutional Dependency*, as I have call'd it for Distinction's Sake, consists in This ; that the Proceedings of *each Part* of the Government, when They come forth into Action and affect the whole, are liable to be examined and controul'd by the *other Parts*. The *Independency* pleaded for consists in This ; that the Resolutions of *each Part*, which direct these Proceedings, be taken *independently* and without any *Influence*, direct or indirect, on the *others*. Without the *first*, each Part would be at Liberty to attempt destroying the *Ballance*, by usurping, or abusing Power ; but without the *last*, there can be no *Ballance* at all. I will illustrate This, by supposing a Prince, who claims and exercises a Right of *levying Money without Consent of Parliament*. He could not be oppos'd effectually, if the *two Houses of Parliament* had not a Right to oppose Him ; to call his *Ministers* to Account ; and to make Him feel that, far from being *absolute*, He was under this *constitutional Dependency* ; but He would not be opposed at all, if the *two Houses of Parliament* were under his *Influence*, and incapable of directing their Proceedings *independently* of Him. One would be ashamed to insist thus much on a Point so very clear, if *some Men* were not so harden'd to all Sense of Shame as to maintain the contrary ; and that there are Men capable of doing This, is one of those melancholy Symptoms, which characterize the

present Age. I could almost appeal to the cool Thoughts, and the private Reflections of some of *these Writers*, whether any Thing can be more scandalous than the Task they have undertaken. To skreen their *Patrons*. They endeavour to distinguish us out of our greatest *national Advantages*; as was observed in the Case of *Dunkirk*. To reconcile the Minds of Men to *such Measures*, as their *Patrons* may want, and as no *honest* Man will take, They endeavour to demolish the very *Corner-stones*, on which the whole Fabrick of *Liberty* rests. Their Iniquity, it must be confess'd, is very systematical. When They write for *Corruption*, They write for the *Means*. When They write for the *Dependency of the Parliament on the Court*, They write for the *End*. Well might *Oldcastle* say of *these Writers*, their *Patrons* and *Abettors*, that the Mask was pull'd off on one Side. Let me conjure them, in the Name of Modesty, to call Themselves *Whigs* no longer. It is Time They should lay that Appellation aside; since it will not be hard to prove, from the general Tenor of their Writings, that the Maxims They advance, the Doctrines they inculcate, and the Conduct They recommend, lead to the Destruction of *civil Liberty*, as much as the political Lessons of *Sibthorpe*, *Manwaring*, or Archbishop *Laud* Himself. They and their Followers declared Themselves directly against *Liberty*. To plead for it was almost *Blasphemy*; and to assert it little less than the Sin against the *holy Ghost*, according to the Doctrines taught by *those Divines*. Such Absurdities made few Converts in *those Days*; and the Preachers of them would meet with the utmost Contempt in *These*. But the *Writers*, of whom We now complain, affect to maintain the Cause of *Liberty*, whilst They betray it. They assert the Principles of *Liberty in general*, and sometimes reason upon Them well enough; but when They apply them to *particular Cases*, They prevaricate, evade, and exert all their poor Endeavours to turn the Cannon of *Liberty*.

Liberty against *Herself*. The *others* had *Fœnum* in *Cornu*. They put Mankind on their Guard against them, and were the true Promoters of all the Mischief and Confusion, which follow'd, when the Nation run into the utmost Extreams, in Opposition to them. *These Men* insinuate themselves as Friends to *Liberty*. They are look'd upon as such by some few Persons, who mean well to *Liberty*, even at this Time; and yet They are almost wholly employ'd in promoting That, which is destructive of *Liberty* and inconsistent with it; *Corruption* and *Dependency*. *Laud* and the *others* endeavour'd openly to lop the Branches and cut down the Tree; but *these Men* are privately poisoning the Root of *Liberty*. The Power of the *Court* and the Authority of the *Lawyers* could not make the levying *Ship Money* pass for *Law*, nor prevail on the Nation to bear it. But if it were possible to suppose an *House of Commons* as dependent as *these Lawyers*, (and They would be as dependent, if the Doctrines, which We oppose, prevail'd amongst them) the Nation might then be loaded with *Taxes*, oppress'd with *Debts*, and reduced to the greatest Misery by *Law*. Our *Liberties*, as well as our *Estates*, might be taken from us. We might be *legally undone*. These are possible Consequences of *such Doctrines*. If they are not probable, We owe no Thanks to the *weekly Preachers* of them. The Nature of our *present Settlement*, which is built on the Foundation of *Liberty*, the Interest and Honour of the *Prince* now on the Throne, as well as of all his illustrious Posterity, are our Security against these Dangers; but still I say, We owe no Thanks to the *Writers* on the Side of the *M——y*.

I have dwelt pretty much upon this Point, to shew what is the real Design of *these Remarks*; and I will venture to add that *those Persons*, who oppose *such Doctrines* as We have been opposing, will appear at last to be the truest Friends to his Majesty King GEORGE and the *Protestant Succession*; which can

subsist only upon *those Principles*, upon which it was originally establish'd. O.



P O S T S C R I P T.

THough We shall not think our selves obliged to take Notice of all the low Objections of our *Adversaries*; yet the worthy Writers of the *London Journal* and the *Flying Post* having charg'd us with Forgery in a *Matter of Fact*; it may not be improper to detect their Malice and Ignorance. The Charge is, that We have foisted in the *two following Articles* against *Richard II.* in order to make our Account of his *Reign* a Parallel to the present, viz.

That He had put the Administration of the publick Affairs in the Hands of unexperienc'd and ill-designing Persons, to the great Damage of the People, who were loaded with excessive Taxes.

That in his Negotiations with foreign Princes, He had made Use of so many Equivocations and Sophistries, that none would take his Word any more.

They call upon us to produce our Authority for *these Articles*. Accordingly We refer them to *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. 3. Pag. 326, or *Mr Tindal's Translation* of it Vol. 4. Pag. 448; from whence We quoted them to prevent any Cavils at a *Version* of our own. They are the *first and twenty-fourth Articles*. We hope *these Writers* will not, for the future, pretend to Reason upon *History*, before they read it. D.



N^o 226. SATURDAY, OCT. 31, 1730.

HEN an Acknowledgement was lately made that several Writers were retain'd against us with *Places* and *Pensions*, We were in Hopes that the *great Man* had referr'd our Dispute intirely to the *Press*; but his *Advocates* have made

such a wretched Use of this only *fair Weapon*, that *He* finds Himself obliged to remove the Cause to *another Tribunal*, and to support it by *another Kind of Argument*.

It cannot therefore be expected that We should carry on a formal Controversy with *these Men*, who are superceded by more *authoritative Disputants*. They have been long calling upon the *secular Arm*; which hath at last heard their Voice, and once more taken the *Argument* out of their Hands.

We might as well dispute with *Dimock*, on a Coronation Day, as argue with *these Writers*. They strut, vapour, throw down the Gauntlet, and defy us to take it up; at the same Time that They have a *Friend* standing behind them, arm'd with a great *Club* to knock us down, if We offer to do it.

Even this *general Comparison* may, for aught I know, be construed into a *particular, treasonable Libel*, by the same Rules, which have been made Use of to explain some other Passages in our *late Papers*. It may be said by *these Writers* that the Business of *Dimock*, at a Coronation, is to assert the *King's Title to his Crown*; ergo, We claim a Right to *dispute his Majesty's Title*.

They shall not however intimidate us, by such far-fetch'd invidious Constructions, from pursuing the
Point,

Point, in which We are engaged, and explaining it at large to the Publick. The Methods, which They use to stop us in this Undertaking, are Themselves Motives to urge us on and render the Prosecution of it more necessary every Day. *I am so far from finding Reason to evade, or to draw back; (as a certain, polemical Prelate once said) that I have found great and, to me, irresistible Arguments to press forward; and to open and unfold the Doctrines flowing from those Principles much more widely and unreservedly than I had before done.*

The *Point*, in which We are at present engaged, is to shew *that it is necessary to keep up a Spirit of Liberty, in order to preserve Liberty itself.*

The Method, which We chose to explain *this Point* was, *first*, by laying down the *Principles of Liberty*; *secondly*, by applying them to the most remarkable Occurrences and Events of the *Roman Government*; and *thirdly*, by illustrating them, in the same Manner, by an Abstract of the *English History*.

We were no sooner enter'd upon this Undertaking, than the *pensionary Writers* of the Times began to exclaim against a factious, seditious, and at last a treasonable Design of drawing *Parallels*. Instead of applying our *Principles*, according to our profess'd Intention, to the Purposes of *Liberty*, They apply them to the Purposes of *Faction*; and endeavour to prove that our Design is to asperse the *present Reign* by an historical Representation of *Those*, which are past; whereas it is manifest that our only Design, in these Papers, is to shew that the present Enjoyment of our *Liberties* is owing to the *Spirit*, which hath exerted itself through all Ages in its Defence; that our *best* and *most glorious Princes* have given it the greatest Encouragement; and that *Those*, who have endeavour'd to suppress it, have always proved the most *unfortunate*. It appears likewise, from this Abstract of the *English History*, that most of our *unhappy Princes* owed their Misfortunes to *wicked Ministers* and *Favourites*,

vourites, who mislead them into destructive Measures; with a View to their own private Interest and Ambition.

It is, perhaps, *this Part* of our Design, which hath given so much Offence; and as they cannot falsify *Facts*, They must endeavour to pervert and wrest our Words to *bad Meanings*. These Endeavours appear in all their Writings upon this Subject; and it hath lately been asserted very roundly, *that there is not a Virtue mention'd in one of our antient Kings with any other View than to insinuate that it hath no Parallel at present; nor any Vice mention'd, but to hint that there is a Parallel at present.*

According to this Method of Construction and Application, it is impossible to write *History*, to quote from *History*, or to apply any *historical Passage* to a Point in Dispute, without incurring the Imputation of intending a *factious, seditious, or treasonable Parallel*. If you endeavour to recommend the *Virtues* of a *good Prince*, such as *Edward the third*, it may be represented that your Design was to shew that it hath *no Parallel at present*. If you think proper to expose the *Vices* of a *bad Prince*, such as *Richard the second*, by shewing the Consequences of them, it may be said that you do it with an Intention of hinting that *there is a Parallel at present*; so that whether there is a *Parallel*, or there is *no Parallel*, you may be prosecuted for a *Libeller*. The Case is exactly the same with relation to the Histories of *all Nations* and of *all Ages*. Whether you condemn the Cruelties of a *Nero*, or praise the Clemency of a *Trajan*, your Writings are equally capable of such *seditious and treasonable Constructions*.

This Argument might be still press'd a great deal farther; and the whole *English History* might be prov'd a Libel upon the *present Government*, by the same Rule of Interpretation; for if a *faithful Abstract* of any Book is really *treasonable*, the *Book* itself must be equally *criminal*; and every *Writer*, who gives the same Ac-

count

count of *Edward III.* or *Richard II.* that We have done, is as justly chargeable with the same wicked Intention; nay every *Bookseller*, who publishes *Kennet's*, *Echard's*, or *Rapin's* History, is as liable to a Prosecution as *Mr. Francklin*.

It is pleasant enough to observe by what Methods They endeavour to turn our historical Essays into *Parallels*.

It happens very unluckily for us that King *Richard*, whose Measures We have lately condemn'd, was the SECOND *English* Monarch of that Name; which being likewise the Case of his *present Majesty*, They conclude that there is a *Parallel*; and so far, We must confess, their Argument holds good; as it will likewise in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James the second*. In the next Place They take Notice that We have printed several Sentences in *Italick Characters*; which being a *blind Sort of a Letter*, They argue, with great Sagacity, that some *dark Meaning* must be couch'd under them; but if They meet with any Word distinguish'd in *Capitals*, They think the Case beyond all doubt, and immediately pronounce us guilty of a *capital Offence*.

I often wonder that the *weekly Advocates for Power* have never insisted on two famous Instances of *Court Prosecutions* in the Reign of *Edward IV.* to justify their *ironical Constructions*. One is That of a poor *Grocer*, who was hang'd, in that Reign, for saying that He would make his Son *Heir of the Crown*; alluding, either innocently, or for the Sake only of a little Pun upon the Times, to his own House, which bore the Sign of the *Crown*. The other Instance was of a *Gentleman*, who was condemn'd as a Traytor, upon the following Account. The *King* having kill'd a *favourite white Deer* in his Park, He was so much griev'd at his Loss, that He suffer'd himself to wish, in a Transport of Passion, *that the Horns of the Deer were in the Belly of Him, who advis'd the King to do it*. This was interpreted, by the *state Casuists* of those

those Times, into a Design of compassing the *Death of the King*; for, said They, the *King* kill'd the *Deer* without any *Body's* Advice; from whence it follow'd that the *Gentleman* wish'd the *Deer's Horns* in the *King's own Belly*; *innuendo*, He had an Intention of murdering the *King*, which is *high Treason*; and He was executed accordingly.

I cannot recollect whether the Author of a Book, intitled the *Doctrine of Libels discuss'd*, hath digested these two Cases into his Code of *State-Law*; but if He hath not, I must recommend them to his Consideration, and hope He will not omit them in the next Edition of that exquisite Performance.

I will appeal to the *Publick*, (for the *Publick* must be the Judge in all Disputes of this Nature) whether even *these Innuendos* were not much more justifiable than *Those*, which have been fix'd upon our Writings, in order to turn them into *libellous Parallels*; and whether it is possible for any Man to write *History*, or to give an Account of any Prince, good or bad, antient or modern, of this Nation or of any other, without drawing the same Imputations upon Himself, if this Method of Construction should prevail.

I must beg Leave to expostulate very seriously, upon this Subject; not with the *Writers against us*, (for They have shut their Ears to all Kind of *Reason*, except *Interest*) but with every impartial Reader; with every true Friend of Liberty; with every Lover of our present Constitution.

His late Majesty was graciously pleased to encourage the Study of *modern History*, and to institute a *Professorship* in each of his Universities, with handsome Salaries for this Purpose.

Now, I will leave any reasonable Man to judge what could be the Design of *this Institution*; whether it was to encourage the Study of *History*, for the Sake of Adventures, and by Way of Amusement only, as idle People read *Novels* and *Romances*; or whether it was to propagate political Knowledge, and to make
the

the *present Age* wiser by the Experience of the *past*; by searching into the great Springs of Action; by examining the true Causes of the Revolutions of Government; and by pointing out the Measures, which have made some Kingdoms flourish, and reduc'd others to Slavery and Ruin.

If it was with the *latter Design*, (which is certainly the most laudable) We hope it will not be judg'd criminal to pursue it; and We cannot apprehend in what Manner it can be pursued more effectually than We have done in our *late Papers*.

It is impossible, in such an Undertaking, to avoid what may be call'd *Parallel*; because even the *best* and the *worst Reigns* may resemble each other in some particular Circumstances. A *good King*, for Instance, may have a very *wicked Minister*, and be led into very *wrong Measures*, as well as a *bad King*. If therefore We have mention'd any Thing blameable in the Conduct of *former Reigns*, which bears any Similitude to the *present* (for there is no Reign absolutely unblameable) ought it to be immediately inferr'd that We mention'd it for the Sake of the *Application*; or, at least, with a Design of villifying and aspersing the *present Reign*? May it not be more reasonably suppos'd that We mention'd it, in general, to shew the bad Consequences of such Conduct in *former Reigns*, and to make the *present Reign* glorious by avoiding the same Rock? Nay supposing we should, at any Time, find it necessary to censure *any Measures*, which we judge prejudicial to the Kingdom, I cannot see how we could do it in a more modest and decent Manner than by shewing the bad Consequences of them in a *former Reign*. I apprehend This to be the great End and Privilege of the *Liberty of the Press*; which can be of no *national Service*, when such an Use of it is prohibi'd; and even the *worst Ministers* need not contend for any *farther Restraint* upon it.

Had We misrepresented the History of *former Reigns*, and foisted in *Articles* without any Authority,

(as

(as our Adversaries have lately charg'd us with doing, in the Case of *Richard II.*) We are ready to confess there would be some Reason to fix such an Imputation upon us ; for though We may be innocently mistaken in some of our *Remarks*, or *Reasonings* upon those Points, which fall under our Consideration ; yet a wilful *Forgery in Matter of Fact* must proceed from an ill Design ; but We have sufficiently justified ourselves, in our *last Paper*, from the Guilt of that Charge, to the Confusion of *Those*, who brought it against us. They are the *Forgers* ; not *We*.

Nay, had We singled out *one particular Reign* to comment upon ; it might be said, with some little Colour of Reason, that We designed to draw a *Parallel* ; though I cannot see how We could be proved guilty of writing a *Libel*, if We could justify what We had said from the *English History* ; but as We have pursued the Subject of *Liberty*, in a regular Manner, through a Deduction of Papers, there does not appear the least Foundation for such a Charge ; unless We are to suppose that the whole Body of the *Roman and English History* is one continued Libel upon the *present Government*.

Having said thus much in our own Vindication, (which We think sufficient at present,) We must leave the World to judge what *those Writers* deserve, who, under the Pretence of defending the *Ministry*, have really drawn an infamous Parallel between his *present Majesty* and one of the *worst Princes*, that ever sat on the *English Throne*. They have done This in such glaring Colours and in so undisguis'd a Manner, that We cannot read it without Horror, and even to transcribe their Words would indeed be a *treasonable Libel*, without the Help of an *Innuendo*.

We cannot tell what Liberties *some Writers* may be privileg'd to take ; but if *any Person*, near his Majesty, encourages such *vile Papers*, to serve his *own private Purposes*, and makes Use of his Power to propagate them through the Kingdom, at the *publick Ex-*

pence, He saves us the Trouble of making any Application, and hath drawn a just Parallel between *Himself* and the *worst Minister* of any Reign, which We have examin'd, in the *English History*. D.



N^o 227. SATURDAY, Nov. 7, 1730.



Having examin'd the modern Doctrine of PARALLELS, in our last Paper, and shew'd it be inconsistent with *natural Equity*, as well as destructive of our *establisht Liberty of Writing*; it is proper to take Notice of another infamous Doctrine, which the *pensionary Writers* have lately advanced.

We shall address our selves to the *Publick*, in this Paper, as we did in our last; for we are resolved to avoid all Disputes with *these Men*, whilst they have Recourse to any *other Arguments*, than Those of *Reason*.

One of them hath lately told us, very unreservedly, *that if we continue these Papers, the Government cannot subsist without POWER and TERROR; that this licentious Way of Writing* (as He is pleas'd to call it) *naturally brings a Nation from Freedom to Slavery; from Laws to arbitrary Power; and from a Government by Wisdom and Goodness to a Government by dreadful Power and lawless Authority.*

I will appeal to the World whether the *plain English* of these Words, according to their natural Construction, is not as much as to say; "Gentlemen, you
" may write and argue as long as you please; but we
" are resolv'd to get the better of you at last. If we
" cannot do This by *personal Scandal, Evasion and*
" *Sophistry*, we must make use of *Terror and Force.*

" The

“ The *ſæcular Arm* is on our Side ; and if you continue to prefs us too hard, you muſt expect to be cruſh’d with the Weight of it. Nay, rather than ſuffer our *Patron* to be run down with *Argument*, we will endeavour to ſupport him at the Expence of *national Liberty*, by converting our *preſent legal Government* into a Government by *arbitrary Power* and *lawleſs Authority*.

Another of theſe profligate Writers inſiſts on the ſame Argument, with vile Inſinuations (too ſhocking almoſt to be mentioned) that his Maſteſty may be induc’d, by *perſonal Irritations*, to authorize ſome *violent Proceedings*, under the Colour of *Law* ; and a *Third* is ſo kind as to give us Notice of our *approaching Deſtruction*.

If This is our Caſe, we muſt prepare for the Blow, and arm ourſelves againſt it as well as we can ; for it is ridiculous to diſpute with *Power* and a *ſtanding Army*, or to produce *Argument* againſt *Authority* ;

Inter ARMA ſilent LEGES.

But we hope for better Things, and have too high an Opinion of his Maſteſty’s Wiſdom and Goodneſs to entertain the leaſt Apprehenſions of this Nature. We confidently rely upon his royal Declaration *that He will always make the Laws of the Land the Meaſure of his Government*.

As the *London Journal* hath been lately made uſe of to ſpread theſe infamous Doctrines through the Kingdom ; we cannot, perhaps, apply a better Antidote to ſuch Poiſon, than the Words of a *great Prelate*, who formerly delivered Himſelf, upon the Subject of *AUTHORITY*, in the following Manner.

“ It is, indeed, the greateſt and moſt irreconcilable Enemy to *Truth* and *Argument*, that this World ever furniſh’d out, ſince it was in Being. All the *Sophiſtry* ; all the Colour of *Plauſibility* ; all the *Artifice* and *Cunning* of the ſubtileſt Diſputer in

“ the World may be laid open and turn’d to the Ad-
 “ vantage of that *Truth*, which They are design’d
 “ to hide, or to depress. But against AUTHORITY
 “ there is no Defence.—It was AUTHORITY, which
 “ crush’d the noble Sentiments of *Socrates* and others
 “ in the heathen World, and prevented the Recep-
 “ tion of them amongst Men.—It was AUTHORITY,
 “ which hinder’d the Voice of the *Son of God* Him-
 “ self from being heard.—It was AUTHORITY a-
 “ mongst *Heathens*, which afterwards put all the
 “ Stop to *Christ’s* Profession, which this World could
 “ put ; and when *Christians* increas’d into a *Majority*,
 “ and came to think the *same Method* to be the only
 “ proper one, for the Advantage of their Cause,
 “ which had been the Enemy and Destroyer of it ;
 “ then it was the AUTHORITY of *Christians*, which,
 “ by Degrees, not only laid waste the Honour of
 “ *Christianity*, but well nigh extinguished it from
 “ amongst Men.—It was AUTHORITY, which brought
 “ in all that merciless Heap of useless and burthenome
 “ Fopperies ; Prayers in an unknown Tongue ; Pray-
 “ ers to Multitudes of Beings ; and the whole Load
 “ of Absurdities and Depravations of true Religion,
 “ under which the *christian* People were in Captivity,
 “ till They became gross and weighty enough at last
 “ to break the Props that supported them.—It was
 “ AUTHORITY, which recommended and guarded
 “ Them, by *Disgraces* and by *Inquisitions* ; by ma-
 “ king it *infamous*, or *terrible* to any to oppose Them.
 “ —It was AUTHORITY, which would have preven-
 “ ted all *Reformation*, where it is ; and which hath
 “ put a *Barrier* against it, wherever it is not.

It must be confess’d, indeed, that the *right reve-*
rend Author confin’d all this pathological Reasoning to
Church Authority, as the Purpose of his Argument,
 at that Time, directed Him ; but, with his *Lord-*
ship’s Leave, We will examine whether it does not
 extend to some Cases of *civil Authority*.

There

There is a Difference, no doubt, between *temporal* and *spiritual* Concerns; between *Religion* and *civil Government*; as *one* relates chiefly to our Happiness here, and the *other* to our Happiness hereafter; but I apprehend, at the same Time, that the *Liberty*, which We claim as the Birthright of *Englishmen*, is not only of an *ecclesiastical*, but of a *civil* Nature; that We are Freemen in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*; and that our *civil Liberty* is as valuable a Blessing (at least, with Respect to *this World*) as *Liberty of Conscience*. I apprehend that the *Liberty of the Press* extends itself equally to *both Cases*; and that I have as much Right to judge for myself, and to propose my Sentiments to others, in Matters of *Government*, when I see Occasion, as his *Lordship* had to do it in Matters of *Religion*. I apprehend likewise that *mere Authority* is as great an Enemy to *Truth* and *Argument* in a Controversy about *civil Government*, as it is in Disputes of a *religious Nature*; and that it is equally destructive of *political* and *religious Liberty*; for it is *Authority*, which hath prevented all *Reformation*, where it is not, in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*.—*Against Authority*, in both Cases, *there is no Defence*.

His *Lordship* observ'd, by way of Distinction between *religious* and *civil Affairs*, that the *End of human Society is answer'd by outward Behaviour and Actions*; which ought therefore to be restrain'd and govern'd by *civil Authority*.

The Observation is certainly just; but it is equally just in *both Cases*; for our *Church-Establishment* is secured by the same Laws with our *civil Establishment*. It is equally a Part of our *Constitution*, and his Majesty is equally bound, by Oath, to maintain it. Whenever therefore the Foundation of *either* is openly attack'd, the *civil Authority* ought to interpose; and I presume his *Lordship* will not deny that Controversies about *Religion* and *Conscience* have often broke out into *Actions*, as mischievous to the *State*, as any po-

litical Disputes whatsoever.—He cannot forget that even the *Controversy*, which bore his Name, occasioned at least as much Contention, and Division and Clamour, as *That*, in which I am, at present, engaged.

But though We ought to be restrain'd, in *both Cases*, from making any Attempts on the *Foundation* of our Establishment; yet We have a Right to propose any *Amendments*, where We judge it deficient, and to recommend the Reformation of *those Parts*, which appear to have been *corrupted*, or *abus'd*. This is the great Design and Use of the *Liberty of the Press*.

I think therefore that his *Lordship* observ'd very justly, in his Defence, that *Statute-Books* and *Acts of Parliament* were very improper Arguments between *Christians* and *Divines*. I hope He will admit that They are equally unfit to be us'd between *Philosophers* and *political Writers*; and that I have the same Right to express my Dislike of the *septennial Act*, the *Riot Act*, or any *Parliamentary Resolutions*, (much more, of the *Conduct of Ministers*, who are no Part of our *established Constitution*) which he had to declare his Disapprobation of the *Test Act*, and other temporal Sanctions in Matters of Religion. He must likewise allow that We have *both* the same Reason to complain of having *Questions put to us*, the *Difficulty of answering which arises solely from worldly Considerations*.

I have examined *this Point*, without intending any personal Reflection on that *great Writer*; but only to make use of his Arguments against the Arguments of Those, who pretend to be his *greatest Admirers*, and enter the Lists as his *Advocates* upon all Occasions.

I cannot tell how far his *Lordship* may approve *such Papers*, or be pleased with fulsome Panegyricks on *Himself*, which are mix'd up with Arguments, absolutely destructive of the first Principles of *Liberty*; but I will engage to produce innumerable Passages out of his *former Writings*, in Confutation of these
Scribblers.

Scribblers, by shewing that They have strained the *Measures of Submission* much higher than He hath stated them, and They ought to be fix'd; that the *present Settlement of the Crown is of a conditional Nature*; founded on a *mutual Contract between the King and the People*; and that if it is broke on one Side, the *Obligation ceases on the other*.

If This be true, as it certainly is, it will follow that every Attempt upon *popular Liberty* is an Attempt to destroy his Majesty's Title, and to absolve the People from their Allegiance.

How infamous therefore and (to use their own polite Word) how truly *villainous* are those *Writers*, who, for want of *Argument*, are not ashamed to menace us with traiterous Insinuations, that his Majesty will suffer any of his *Ministers* to exercise a *dreadful, arbitrary Authority*, instead of *Law*, and to support Themselves in Power, by ruling his People with a *Rod of Iron*?

D.



N^o 228. SATURDAY, November 14, 1730.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



IF the Reign of *Henry the sixth* was a Reign of *Faction*, Those of the House of *York* were so likewise.—The Popularity, Bravery, Cruelty, Rashness, Uxoriousness, Incontienence of *Edward the fourth*; in short, his good and his bad Qualities work'd the different Effects of supporting; exasperating and increasing *Factions*. The Characters of *Henry the sixth's Queen* and of the Earl of *Warwick*, to mention no more of the principal Actors on that

that bloody Stage, conspir'd to maintain and aggravate this national Calamity.

In these long, continued Struggles, the whole Nation became involved, and the Factions of *York* and *Lancaster* growing every Day more animated and better disciplin'd, We are not to wonder that They fought *usque ad Internecionem*; at least, till the Field of Battle, the Scaffold, and some Theatres of clandestine Murthers had left no Man, on one Side, alive, who was in a Condition to oppose, or give Jealousy to the other. But That, which may very justly raise our Wonder, is that *Edward IV.* having secured to Himself and his Family the Possession of the Throne, by the Murther of *Henry VI.* and his Son, and by the total Defeat of the whole *Lancastrian Party*, should suffer *two new Factions* to be nurs'd up, which divided his *own Party*, occasion'd the Murther of his Sons and, by establishing the short-liv'd Tyranny of his *Brother*, brought the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne, and sunk for ever the House of *York* in That of *Lancaster*.

Edward the fourth's Queen was the original Cause of all this Mischiefe, and a principal Sufferer herself in the Course of it. She was resolv'd to govern at any Rate; and *Rapin* observes that, as her being Queen gave Her no Manner of Title to meddle with the Affairs of the Publick, she knew how to manage that Matter another Way; namely, by the Influence she had over the King. Though *Edward* often prov'd false to Her, she bore it very patiently, and never shew'd her Uneasiness at it. *Edward*, charm'd to find Himself at Liberty to pursue his Inclinations without Danger of continual Reproaches, repay'd her Moderation with the most obliging and condescending Behaviour; of which she knew how to make a good Use. She maintain'd this Ascendant over her Husband to the last, and for a little Complaisance, which cost Her nothing in present, she purchased a Degree of Power in the State, which cost her dear in Consequence, by alienating the

the Affections of the People from her Husband, during his Life, and ruining his Family afterwards, as I have hinted before.

Her Aim was, according to Rapin, to secure her Power during the King's Life and, in Case she survived Him, to make sure of the Government of the Kingdom, in the Name of the Prince her Son, when He should come to be on the Throne; but by a Fatality, not unusual to the best-laid Projects, this very Thing prov'd the Occasion of her own and her Family's Ruin.

I cannot think, as *Rapin* seems to do, that her Project deserved to be rank'd amongst Those, which are the *best-laid*. It appears to be the narrow Project of a *Woman*, who had Cunning, Insinuation, and the Spirit of Intrigue, with much Pride and Ambition; but wanted that extensive Knowledge and that superior Genius, (such as *Catherine of Medicis* and our Queen *Elizabeth* possess'd) which is necessary to conduct so great a Design as her Passion prompted Her to undertake; for what was her *Project*? Was it to acquire an Interest in the *Nation*, by deserving well of it? — Nothing less. It was singly This; to form a *Faction at Court*, by raising her Relations and immediate Dependents, which should be wholly *her own*, and into whose Hands she might throw all the Power and Profit, which the King had to bestow. She had the good Luck to compass this Design, and triumph'd, no doubt very wisely, in her great Success. Surrounded by her Creatures, she look'd no farther than that Circle, and either took no Notice of the Temper of the *Nation*, or judg'd of it by the Temper of the *Court*. But the Rise of *this Faction* immediately form'd *another* and established the Distinction of *antient* and *new Nobility*. The *former* had the true natural Strength, which great Estates in *Land* and establish'd *Credit* in the Nation gave Them. The *latter* had no Strength of their own; none but that adventitious Strength, which arose from *Employments*.

ments and *Favour at Court*. They brought nothing to Court, which could make the Court amends for the *Envy* and *Discontent*, which their Elevation created. To supply This, two Things were done; which serv'd, perhaps, to fortify the *Queen* in her Delusion, and thereby made the Ruin of her ambitious Projects the surer. All Those, who were not in the good Graces of *her Faction*, were disgrac'd at Court and in effect banish'd from it. Nay, they were persecuted by the Power of it; as the Duke of *Clarence*, the King's own Brother, was even to Death. The Names of the Parties of *York* and *Lancaster* might subsist and be made Use of, on proper Occasions; but, in reality, the being for or against the Party of the *Queen* was the sole Distinction, which prevailed; and even the Friends of the House of *York*, whom the *Queen* did not affect, were debarr'd from having the *King's* Ear; excepting only *Three* of his old and most faithful Servants, who maintain'd Themselves against *Her* and her *Faction*. I mean *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, *Hastings* and *Stanley*.

Another Method, which *this Queen* took to strengthen herself and her *Faction*, was by raking up Money by illegal and oppressive Means; particularly by setting Prosecutions on Foot against the rich Men of the Kingdom, several of whom were arraign'd of *high Treason*, and encouraging the Judges to get them found guilty at any Rate. *Habington* observes (in his History of *this King*) that as their Wealth was the principal Evidence against them, though their Persons were acquitted, their Estates were found guilty.

The same Historian observes farther, that ' the
' Memory of these Carriages hithertofore, in a Busi-
' ness that concerned the Life of a Man, reputed in-
' nocent, drew the World into much Fear that he
' would now decline to Rigour. Neither was the
' King totally excus'd, although this cruel Avarice
' was laid to the *Queen*, who having a numerous
' Issue and Kindred, by Favour rais'd up to the high-
' est

‘ est Titles, was almost necessitated, for Supportance
‘ of their Honours, to rack the Kingdom.

Edward seem’d sensible, before his Death, of the mischievous Consequences, which this Conduct and the clashing of *two Factions* might produce. He endeavour’d to prevent them by *reconciling the two Parties*; a poor Expedient ! (as *Rapin* justly observes) *which could not easily produce the Effect he expected.*

The Duke of Gloucester, who conceal’d his Design till his *Brother’s* Death, took Advantage of *these Factions*. He made his Court publickly to the *Queen*, and held a private Correspondence with the *opposite Party*. Nay, he found Means, by fomenting it, to raise a *Third* for Himself.

I have dwelt the longer, in this Place, on the strange Turns and cruel Effects of *Faction*; because, I believe, no Example can be produced out of any History, which sets them in a stronger Light; and because this Period of Time affording but small Matter to recommend the *Spirit of Liberty*, which had little to do in the Transactions of it, I imagine that pointing out the fatal Consequences of the *contrary Spirit*, which then prevailed, may answer the same End; as exposing of *Vice* is frequently the strongest Recommendation of *Virtue*.

But we must not imagine, notwithstanding all the contrary Appearances in this Period, that the *Spirit of Liberty* was absolutely extinguished. Though *that Flame* was lost, for the most Part, in the constant Glare of *Faction*; yet it was still alive; and, by living, preserved the Constitution of our Government, during the whole Course of these *civil Wars*.

If we look closely into these Scenes of Confusion, we may discover many particular Instances of the Operations of *this Spirit*. Such were the Difficulties and Delays oppos’d to the Grant of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, for nine Years together; and the many Restrictions added to *this Grant*, when it was at last obtain’d by *Edward* the IVth. Other Instances to the same Purpose

Purpose might be quoted; but we chuse to insist on a more *general Observation*, already mentioned by us, which runs thro' the whole Period and is so strongly vouch'd by History as to admit of no Cavil.

The *Observation* we are going to make contains a memorable Exception to this Proposition, which is but too generally true, *that the Spirit of Liberty and the Spirit of Faction are incompatible and cannot long subsist together*. The Virtue of our Ancestors made this Exception; and if it hath been remember'd to their Shame that they sunk the *national Interest* in the particular Interest of *two Families*; it ought to be remembered to their Honour that they did so in this single Point only, who *should reign*, and in no other. We took Notice, in a former Paper, that upon every Revolution, each Side engaged the *Parliament* for them, and that whoever prevailed, the *Parliament* wisely complied. This Conduct which lasted from *Richard* the II^d down to *Richard* the III^d, preserved our *Liberties*; but it could not have been pursued, nor could our *Liberties* by Consequence have been preserved, if the *Spirit of Liberty* had not been latent in the Hearts of those very Men, who seemed to breathe nothing but *Faction*. How could it have happened that the sole Title of *Conquest* was never established in so many Revolutions brought about by the *Sword*, if the Actors in them had not been strongly affected with a Love and Reverence for the free Constitution of our Government? The Princes of *York* and *Lancaster* themselves were willing, nay desirous to have a *parliamentary Confirmation* of their Titles, real or pretended. But how came they to be so desirous of it? How came they to think it necessary? The Case is plain. The Temper of their *Parties* and of their *Armies* begot this Necessity. The *Spirit of Liberty* prevail'd enough in the whole Body of the Nation, out of which these *Parties* and *Armies* were composed, to preserve the Principles of *publick Freedom*, though not enough to preserve the *publick Peace*:
—Each

—*Each Side* contended to have a *King* of their *own Party*; but *neither Side* would have a *Tyrant*.—They sacrific'd their *Lives* to *Faction*; but would not give up their *Liberties*.—The victorious *Armies* led their *Kings* to the Foot of the *Throne*; but carried them no farther.

The Author of the *short History of standing Armies* observes that, in all the Wars of York and Lancaster, whatever *Party* prevailed, we don't find They ever attempted to keep up a standing Army. Such was the *Virtue* of those *Times*, says He, that They would rather run the Hazard of forfeiting their *Heads* and *Estates* to the *Rage* of the opposite *Party*, than certainly enslave their *Country*, though They themselves were to be the *Tyrants*.—This Remark is just, as far as it goes; and it goes as far as that *Author* wanted to carry it; but it is not so full, nor carry'd so far as *History* will warrant. That the *Princes*, who obtain'd the *Crown* by their *Armies*, did not attempt to govern by their *Armies* afterwards, is most true, and may reflect some Honour on those *Princes* and on the *Heads* of their *Parties*. But there is something more than This remarkable in the Conduct of those *Times*; for even in the Heat of *Victory*, in the Raptures of a successful Revolution, and before the *Armies* could be disbanded, We see these *Princes* obliged to ascend the Steps of the *Throne* in such Manner, and under such Conditions, as the *Parliament* thought fit to prescribe, and as were not always agreeable to Them. This, I am sure, reflects great Honour on the *Parliaments*, who were Actors in the last Scenes of all these Revolutions; and on the *Armies*, who contented Themselves to become Spectators in such Conjunctions.—We will take the first Example, which presents itself in these Wars.

The Duke of Lancaster was at the Head of an Army of 60,000 Men, when He came to the *Crown*. The Proclamation, which He published the very Day he was crown'd shewed how very unwilling He was to

seem to hold his Crown purely by Right of *Election*. He would gladly have set up That of *Conquest*; or a Title derived from *Richard the second's Resignation*; or a Title by *Blood*; or any Title, but the true one. Notwithstanding This, He was obliged, when nothing could have obliged Him but the Sense of his own *Party* and *Army*, to submit to as formal an *Election* as ever was made. The two Houses took Notice of the blind Claim of *Right*, which He enter'd. They chose Him to be King, upon the Question put to Them, after having given their Negative to the Duke of *York*; to his *Sons*; and to others, who were severally proposed in the same Manner to Them. They seem industriously to have contrived and pursued, on this Occasion, a Method of proceeding as opposite as possible to the Views and Inclinations of *this Prince*, whose *Army* attended Him, and whose *Rival* was his Prisoner.

Again; to take another Example from the latter End of these Wars. The Battle of *Northampton* being won and *Henry VI.* taken, the D. of *York* hastens out of *Ireland* to put Himself at the Head of his *Party* and his *Army*. The *Parliament* meets. The Duke asserts his undoubted Right by *Descent* to the Crown, which He demands as due to Him, without any Interposition of *Parliament*. He shews the utmost, and even an indecent Impatience to take Possession of it. He is supported by his own *Party*. He is opposed by others. But the Matter is by all submitted to the Debate and Decision of *Parliament*. The Debate itself must have been grievous enough to a Prince so fond of a Crown, and so much warm'd with the Notion of his *hereditary Right*. But the Decision of this Affair must have wounded Him to the Quick. So little Regard was paid to his *Right*, that He was forc'd to content Himself with leaving the Crown on the Head of *Henry VI.* during that Prince's Life, and not to have the Prospect of succeeding to it, 'till after that Prince's Decease; which, by the Way, was
a Point

a Point of the less Value to Him, because He was older than *Henry VI.* and could not hope to be the better for it, according to the Course of Nature. He submitted to all these Mortifications; and a very judicious *Historian* attributes his Submission to his *Moderation*; but I believe Those, who fully consider his former *Conduct* and his passionate Behaviour at *this Time*, will hardly subscribe to such a Judgment. His Submission, like That of *Henry IV.* in the Case before-cited, was a Submission, which the Temper of his *Party* render'd necessary. They would not force the Resolutions of the *two Houses*; and why the *two Houses* would go no farther in his Favour, at that Juncture, might easily be accounted for, if This were a proper Place for that Disquisition—After the Battle of *Wakefield*, where the Duke of *York* was kill'd; and That of *St. Alban's*, where the Earl of *Warwick* was beaten, the Faction of *York* were determin'd, by the Dangers They had run, and by the Losses They had sustain'd, to ballance no longer; but to set the Crown on the Head of the Earl of *March*; and yet They proceeded no otherwise than under the Authority of *Parliament*, which had ratified the *Agreement* made between the late Duke of *York* and *Henry VI.* By one *Article* of this *Agreement* it was stipulated that if King *Henry* broke it in any Point, the Crown and royal Dignity should immediately devolve on the Duke of *York*, if alive; or, in Failure of Him, on his next Heir. The Earl of *Warwick* therefore, in a Kind of *military Assembly*, (for a Part of the *Army*, at least, was there) proceeded to the Election of *Edward IV.*; but He proceeded on this Foundation. The great Efforts made to break *this Agreement* and to defeat the Effect of it, by King *Henry's Queen*, and the *Lancastrian Party*, were interpreted, and not without Colour, as so many Infractions of it. By Consequence, *Edward IV.* had an immediate Right to the Crown, by Virtue of the *Act of Parliament*, made in Confirmation of *this Convention*, which *Act* and *Convention*

were produced by *Warwick*, who caused them to be publickly read. The Proceeding of *this Assembly*, which hath a tumultuous Air in History, was therefore in reality a *Proclamation* of a King, made by Authority of *Parliament*, and not of an *Election* of a King, without *that Authority*.

Let us conclude that if the *Spirit of Faction* hath, on some Occasions, prevail'd over the *Spirit of Liberty* so far as to defeat and even pervert the Designs of the *latter*; the *Spirit of Liberty* hath likewise revived, in its Turn, on other Occasions, and prevented the Consummation of that Misery, which *Faction* would naturally and of course have produced. Let us conclude that all *standing Armies*, for whatsoever Purpose instituted, or in whatsoever Habit cloath'd, may be easily made the Instruments of *Faction*; because a Body of Men separated, in many Respects, from the rest of the Nation, constrain'd to *different Customs*, and in some Measure subjected to *different Laws*, may be easily persuaded that they have a *different Interest*. Let us conclude that these *Casuits in red* are the most dangerous in this Respect, that having *Swords* by their Sides, They are able at once to cut those *gordian Knots*, which *others* must untie by Degrees. But let us conclude, at the same Time, that if a *Spirit of Liberty* be kept up in a free Nation, it will be kept up in the *Army* of that Nation; and that when it is thus kept up, though the *Spirit of Faction* may do great Hurt, it cannot compleat the publick Ruin. We see the Truth of this Observation exemplified near *three Centuries* ago; and let us remember with Gratitude that the same Truth was again confirmed to us no longer ago than *two and forty Years*. O.



To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,

AN Argument in your last Paper, (to justify your *historical Abstracts*) drawn from his late Majesty's Foundation of *modern History*, reminds me of a Trial we had, not long since, at *King's College* before the Visitor, to restore a Lad, whom that Society had thought fit to expel. One Species of his Crime (for it was of a complicated Nature) was the making gross Reflections upon King *James the first*, in a Speech on the *fifth of November*. Now, if to calumniate the Memory of a Prince is ever improper, it surely must be esteemed extravagantly absurd to vilify this Monarch on a Day set apart by *Parliament*, in a Speech appointed by the Society to commemorate his miraculous Deliverance from a *Popish Conspiracy*. But however unseasonable the Occasion might be, He was represented as a most *weak* and *despicable King*; a Favourer of *Popery*; and, by some very puerile Witticisms, the *Pope* was banter'd as strangely mistaken in his Politicks, when He form'd, or authoriz'd a *Plot* to blow up his *best Friend*; so that the serious Solemnization of a national Blessing was turn'd to mere Ridicule. In Justification of the Lad, (who, by the Way, was thought to be supported by the *M——y*) one of his Counsel, a *common Lawyer* and a Member of the College, produced several Passages out of *Pryn's hidden Mystery of Darknes*, and the impartial History of Monsieur *Rapin*. Again, it was urged in his Favour, by another of his Counsel, who was a *Civilian*, that the Lad was so far from being culpable in what He had done, that He acted in Character; took a good Opportunity of shewing his Proficiency as a *modern Scholar*; and that the inflicting a Punishment on Him for freely canvassing and censuring the

Transactions of former Reigns, was to curb and cramp the *Design of the royal Institution*; for the Confirmation of which Opinion, He offered to appeal to the *Professor of modern History*, who was then present. These Vindications, grounded on the *authentick Extract* aforesaid, and on the Nature of the *modern Foundation*, had so much Weight with the *Visitor*, that his Lordship, (who was never look'd upon as an Enemy to the Government) without the least Demur reinstated the Youth in his Fellowship, and decreed Him ample Restitution of all Profits and Emoluments arising from it, during his Deprivation, or Suspension. From your Reader and Admirer,
R.

Phileleutherus Britannicus.

—College, Cambridge,
Sept. 20. 1730.



N^o 229. SATURDAY, Nov. 21, 1730.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



NE of the Historians of *Britanny*, if I remember right, and I think it is *Argentré*, says the People of that Dutchy grew so much tired with the Disputes between *Charles of Blois* and the *Monforts*, that the two Parties agreed, just before a Battle, to make an End of the Quarrel at once, by taking off that Prince, against whom the Fortune of the Day should declare it self — Our Ancestors were very far from following this Example; but They seized the Opportunity, which was presented.

presented to Them, after *Richard the third* had usurp'd the Throne, and murder'd his Nephews, of abolishing *Tyranny* and extinguishing *Faction*;

The Princes of *York* and *Lancaster* butcher'd one another in such a Manner, that the Right of the former center'd in *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* and the Pretensions of the latter were allow'd, by the whole *Lancastrian Party*, to belong to the Earl of *Richmond*.—This was the State of the *Families*.

The Faction of *York* detested *Richard* for his Usurpation and Cruelties — The Faction of *Lancaster* hated Him for his Name ; and neither the great Qualities, which he really had, nor the good Qualities, which He affected, could reconcile Mankind to his Barbarity — This was the Temper of the *Nation*.

The Opportunity, thus form'd, was improv'd by the universal Concurrence, which a *Spirit of Liberty* and a Regard to the *publick Good*; independent of *Party*, inspir'd. The Faction of *York* became willing to receive a King of the House of *Lancaster* ; and the Party of *Lancaster* a Queen of the House of *York*. All Parties labour'd to unite the *two Roses* ; and *Faction* itself was bent, in this fortunate Conjunction, to extirpate *Faction*.

The Deposition of *Richard*, and the Advancement of the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne, upon this express Condition that He should marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, were pursued with Success, even when *Richard* thought Himself most secure ; when the *Parliament* had been oblig'd to confirm his Usurpation ; to declare the Children of *Edward* Bastards ; and to attain the Earl of *Richmond*.

What a Scene of national Peace and Prosperity was open'd by this Revolution and new Settlement ? But how soon was it shifted ? How soon were the wise and honest Views of the *many* defeated by the Cunning and Iniquity of the *few* ? — *Henry the seventh*, a Creature of the *Peop'e*, (if ever any Prince was such) had been rais'd to the Throne, in order to cut up the
Roots.

Roots of *Faction*; to restore publick Tranquility; and to establish a *legal Government* on the Ruins of *Tyranny*.—He did the very Reverse of all This. His Reign and That of his Son have been two of the severest, under which our Country hath groan'd since the *Conquest*; and yet, in these very Reigns, the Foundations of *Liberty* were laid much broader and stronger than ever.—How This came about, it must be useful, and perhaps it may be entertaining, to consider.

Henry the seventh, who would have been glad, a little before, to have assured Himself of the Crown on any Terms, grew difficult as soon as He had obtained it. He durst not avow a Title by *Conquest*; but He evaded the Appearances of a *parliamentary Title* very industriously, and made the Ceremony of his *Coronation* precede the Meeting of his *Parliament*. He evaded, in the same Manner, the Appearances of any Communication of Right from the Princess *Elizabeth*, by deferring his Marriage till an *Act* had passed to settle the Crown on *Him* and *his Posterity*, without any Mention of the House of *York*. In short, his whole Skill, Credit and Power were employ'd to get the Act of Settlement so generally and so ambiguously penn'd, as to leave Him room to assert afterwards a Right inherent in *Himself*, and independent of the Authority of *Parliament*. Nay, He went farther; for, in the *Bull* of Confirmation, which He obtain'd from the *Pope*, and in which He affected to have all Sorts of Titles enumerated, He took particular Care to have That of *Conquest* inserted.

Such a Conduct gave sufficient Reason for Alarm; but We do not find that it was taken. The *Tyrant* was dead; and the *new Establishment* was made. The Nation was overjoy'd; and the Work of *Liberty* was done by halves. The *new King* found a Compliance with all his Measures, as *new Kings* generally do. But little Reflection was made, perhaps, at that Time, on these Proceedings of the Court; or if a just Re-

fection.

fection was made, We may easily believe that it was soon stifled by that Adulation, which represents the most necessary Precautions, the most just Complaints, and the Assertion of the clearest Rights as Proofs of *Disaffection*.

The whole Course of *Henry the seventh's* Reign was answerable to these Beginnings; and he seems to have established himself in the Power of pursuing Principles of Government, evidently repugnant to Those, upon which he had been raised to the Throne, before the Nation was well aware of what he intended. He planted *Faction* anew and was the true Cause of all the Disturbances, which follow'd from it, and which began even in the first Year of his Reign. Many of the *York Party* had signaliz'd themselves in his Cause. All of them submitted to his Government; and that small Branch of this Party, which had supported *Richard the third*, was too inconsiderable to hurt him; but he soon made it considerable, by driving almost the whole *York Party* into that Interest. *He had conceived, says Rapin, so mortal an Hatred for the whole House of York, that he let slip no Opportunity to humble the Yorkists; behaving always towards them not as a just King, but like the Head of a Party.*

That some of his *Ministers*, of the *Lancastrian Party*, might find their private Account in such a Measure, and sacrifice to it both the Interest of their *Master* and their *Country*, is obvious enough; but how the *King*, who was certainly an able Man, could prefer *dividing*, instead of *uniting* his People in Affection and Obedience, would appear very marvellous, if Experience had not taught us that Men of the greatest Genius fall sometimes into the same Errors, as Men of the least Genius would be apt to commit in the same Circumstances.—How This happens we are not, in this Place, to enquire.

Henry the seventh proceeded as he had been suffered to set out, and established by Degrees, and Those not slow, a Power almost absolute. His Jealousy, his
Pride,

Pride, and his insatiable, fordid Avarice had their full Swing. He became hated even by his *own Party*, and might very probably have lost his Crown, if many *Circumstances*, both at home and abroad, had not conspired in his Favour, and if he had not improved them all with the utmost Ability of Council and Dexterity of Management. The chief of these *Circumstances*, and it well deserves to be remarked, was This,—*They*, who ventured their Estates and Lives in several Insurrections against Him, and *They*, who privately fomented these Insurrections, instead of uniting on a *national Principle*, and bending their Endeavours to a *Reformation of Government*, united on a *Principle of Faction*; for the King's Behaviour had revived *this Spirit*, as we observed above; but still *this Spirit*, though revived, had not attained its former Strength. The Nation in general was tired of *Faction*; dreaded a Relapse into the Consequences of it; and would not engage for a *Simnel*, a *Warbeck*, or even a real Prince of the *House of York*. A national Coolness, on one Side, and Vigilance and Vigour, on the King's Part, defeated all these Enterprizes, as fast as they were form'd. Every one of these Defeats gave *Henry* additional Strength and Increase of Reputation, which is Strength in its Effects. Thus it happen'd in this Case; and thus it hath happen'd in many others. By making an *ill Use of his Power*, the King was the real Author of all the Disorders in the State, and of all the Attempts against his Government; and yet, the better to prevent such Disorders and to resist such Attempts, *farther Powers* were intrusted to Him. Because he had *govern'd ill*, it was put in his Power to *govern worse*; and *Liberty* was undermin'd, for fear it should be overthrown. It hath fared sometimes with *Monarchy* as with the Church of *Rome*. Both have acquired *greater Wealth and Power* by the *Abuse* of what they had, and Mankind have been egregiously the *Bubbles* of both.

We must not however conclude that this King made

made *Force* the sole, though He made it the principal Expedient of his Government. He was wise enough to consider that his *Court* was not the *Nation*; and that however He might command with a Nod in *one*, He must captivate, at least in some Degree, the good Will of Mankind, to make Himself secure of being long obey'd in the *other*; nay more, that He must make his People some Amends for the *Oppressions*, which his Avarice particularly expos'd Them to suffer. For these Reasons, as He strain'd his *Prerogative*, on some Occasions, very high; so He let it down again, upon others, and affected to shew to his *Parliaments* much Condescension, notwithstanding his Pride, as well as much Communication of Counsels, notwithstanding his Reserve.

To attribute to this *Solomon* of *Great Britain* the sole Merit of the *Laws*, made in his Time, as some have done, seems unreasonable; but it was certainly great Merit in Him, and We may add rare Merit, instead of opposing, or refusing, constantly to remunerate his People, by promoting and passing of good *Laws*, which evermore were his *Retribution* for *Treasure*. These are my Lord *Bacon's* Words, and better than His cannot be found to express the general Character of the *Laws*, which the Wisdom of those Times produced. They were *deep and not vulgar*; not made upon the *Spur* of a particular Occasion for the present; but out of *Providence* of the future, to make the *Estate* of the People still more and more happy, after the Manner of the Legislators in antient and heroic Times.—Husbandry, Manufactures, general Commerce, and Increase of useful People were carefully attended to and considerably advanced; so that whilst the Weight of *Taxes* and the Vexations of *Empson*, *Dudley*, and their subordinate *Harpies* were severely felt, every Man felt likewise the particular Benefit, which He received in the general Advantages procured to the Nation. These Drops of *Manna*, which fell from the Throne, soften'd the Murmurs of the
People

People. They could not make the King *belov'd*; but They made Him *less hated*; and the middle and lower Ranks of Men, who felt less the *Rigour of his Government*, felt more immediately the Effects of his *Care* and his *Wisdom*.

We will not refine so much as to say that the *Commons* were patient under the Pressures of this Reign, because They foresaw the Consequences of *those Measures*, which the King took to lessen the Power of his *Nobility*. He did not, perhaps, Himself discern these Consequences in their full Extent; but surely if this Part of his Conduct was *politick*, it was no less *popular* at that Time; since the same exorbitant Power of the *Peers*, which had been so formidable to the *Crown*, had not been less oppressive to the *Commons*. The Weight of *personal Service* had been terribly felt, during the Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*; and the Obligation of *that Tenure* had, no doubt, contributed to prolong them. The *Tenant* therefore, who found *this Service* commuted into a *Rent*, could not but think his Condition mended, and be extremely pleas'd with *this Alteration*, tho' He did not see the Consequences of the *other*; which, by opening a Way to the *Lords* to alienate their Lands, open'd a Way to the *Commons* to increase their *Property* and consequently their *Power* in the State; as may be very easily observ'd in the succeeding Reigns. O.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I Think you are very much in the Right not to suffer your self to be drawn into a formal Controversy with the *Writers* against you; which would not only retard the Progress of your Design, but be very disagreeable to your Readers. We expect that you will continue your Essays upon the great Point of *Liberty*,

erty, and not fill up your Paper with impertinent Altercations and wrangling Disputes about such Trifles as They may throw out to you for Matter of Contention. How ridiculous would it be for you to enter into a Course of Argument with *Writers*, who are *asham'd of one another*? It is really very diverting to observe how angry They are, whenever you mention Them together. They all desire to be consider'd *separately* (a pretty Employment for you indeed!) and not to be made answerable for the Blunders and Absurdities of their *Brethren*, tho' nothing is more evident than that They all receive their Orders from the same *commanding Officer*; and their Services are so much alike, that it is a very hard Matter to say which of Them deserves the Preference. For my Part, if They were to chuse me Arbitrator, I should be inclin'd to decide the Point of Emulation between them, in Favour of the *Flying-Post*; and *another* of your Correspondents seems to be of the same Opinion.

I should not be so uncharitable as to desire you absolutely to destroy *these Writers* (for I am very sensible the Moment you drop Them, they are no more) but that I find my Reading is often interrupted by your Animadversions upon Them. When sagacious *Oldcastle* condescends to take Notice of these little, low Cavilers, though he only buffets them as he passes, I feel a kind of Uneasiness at his Humility; and he appears to me, like the famous *Græcian Chief*, to be combating a *Flock of Sheep*. I grieve to see his Argument stopp'd, and his Force misemploy'd, though for a Moment. Go on, Sir, in the great and virtuous Cause you have undertaken. Go on manfully, without stepping aside for these sort of Flies. The *Spirit of Liberty* distinguishes itself, at all Times, from the *Spirit of Faction*. If you keep your Heart pure and be steady, depend upon it the *Reformation* you seek will follow; and you may have the Pleasure to behold the honest Fruit of your Labours. You will

VOL. VII. L have

have the Satisfaction of knowing that you have done your Part to make Mankind more happy; that is, more virtuous than they were. But do not turn aside to dispute with these wretched *Paper-stainers*, these meer *outriders* of Adversaries; unless you should find that they have orders from their *Master* to publish some *notorious Falshood*, or to raise some *mischievous Calumny*, which may do Hurt to the Cause of *Liberty*.

You will perceive though I should be very sorry to see you diverted from the Pursuit of your *main Point*, by exposing all the wretched Stuff, that is publish'd against you; yet I do not blame you for making, now and then, a short Remark upon the Conduct of your *Adversaries*. I think you did very well in fixing it upon Them that They write under the Influence of *Places* and *Pensions*; as well as in shewing how They endeavour to deserve them by their late Doctrine of *Parallels*, and their Pleas for *lawless Authority*. Nay, you have pass'd over *one* of their Arguments, in Support of the *former*, which I think deserved mentioning. I mean Mr. Osborne's late Position, *that the Character of a Writer ought to determine his Meaning; and that the very same Words, which are innocent in the Historian, become treasonable when They are quoted by you; nay, that the same identical Words, which constitute a Libel upon the King and Government in your Paper, would be a Panegyrick upon both in the London Journal.*——This is the Sense of his Words, without the least Violence; and I am ashamed to make any Reflections upon Them. It is sufficient only to mention that *such an Argument* hath been advanc'd.

As for his late raving Expressions about *Bedlam* and the *Gallows*, I would have you leave Him to the Correction of the *GRUBSTREET JOURNAL*; for the Gentlemen of *that Society* have certainly the best Right to examine the Conduct of their *own Members*; and I must do Them the Justice to observe that They have
hitherto

hitherto exerted it with great Impartiality and more Acuteness than could be expected from Writers, who are pleas'd to style themselves *Grubæans*.

R.

I am S I R, &c.

PHILEUTHERUS.

N^o 230. SATURDAY, Nov. 28, 1730.

HOUGH I find my Readers are generally agreed with me that it would be ridiculous and inconsistent with the Design of this Paper to follow the *profess'd Hirelings* through all their tedious Ambages of *false Argument* and *dirty*

Ribaldry; yet when any Paper appears to be written in a *different Manner*, (though it evidently comes from the *same Quarter*) it may, perhaps, be expected that I should pay some Regard to it; especially when it hath any Relation to the Subject in hand.

This must be my Excuse for taking Notice of a Paper, publish'd in the *daily Courant*, intitled, *some Reflections upon the Reign of Henry VI. occasion'd by the last Craftsman*.

The *Author of these Reflections* charges me with *slipping over the Reign of this King*; (*which I allowed to have been a Reign of Faction*;) and therefore tells the World that *it is his Intention to supply my Defects*; after which He insists on *my dissimulating the most seditious Transactions of that Time from the Proceedings of*

Those, whom He shall not stick to call factious in the late and present Reigns.

The Reason of our passing over *this Reign* in so cursory a Manner did not proceed, as the *Reflector* suggests, from any Apprehension that the *seditious Transactions of that Reign* bore any Resemblance to the *Proceedings*, which are call'd *factious in This*; but in order to hasten down, as fast as We could, to *later Times*, which would furnish us with more Matter to illustrate our general Doctrine of *Liberty*. We did not think proper to enter into a minute Detail of all the Circumstances of the civil Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; nor to spend our Time and tire our Readers with shewing all the Examples, which We might have produced, of the Mischiefs done by *Faction*. This would be writing the *History of England*, instead of making *Remarks* upon it; and would exceed the Limits, which We are oblig'd to prescribe ourselves in *these Essays*.

We did not however intirely *slip over this Reign*. We observ'd, in general, *that it was a Reign of Faction; that it discloses an horrid Scene of Iniquity, Folly, Madness; that the scandalous Management of publick Affairs, which brought infinite Loss and Dishonour to the Nation, gave real Occasion, as well as Pretence, to Commotions and Insurrections; and that the national Interest was sunk, to the Shame of the Nation, in the particular Interest of two Families.*

Had We enter'd into more Particulars of the Reign of *Henry VI*, I confess We could not have given them the Turn, which is given in the *daily Courant*; because it appears to us that this Turn is absolutely inconsistent with the Truth of History, and framed purely to introduce the Insinuation, which runs thro' the whole Paper, that *Those, who complain of Mismanagements, Corruptions and evil Ministers, are Treason-mongers*, and that too *curious and strict an Enquiry into the Conduct of Governors is dangerous to the Government.*

Accor-

According to *this Writer*, all the *Discontents* under *Henry's Government*, all the *Clamours* against it, and all the *Opposition* made to it were owing to the *Intrigues* of the *Duke of York* and his *Faction*. He says that the *Reign of Henry VI.* was not *oppressive*, tho' it was *unfortunate*; that He was not a *bad King*; yet *People of all Ranks were led into Murmurs and Discontents*; that if He had been a *bad King* (as if it were possible for a *weak Man* to be a *good King*) He would have been easily *dispossess'd*; but *That not being the Case*, his *Friends struggled for Him*, till the *whole Kingdom was laid waste*.

Now, if we had treated this Subject in any Extent, we should have been obliged, by the concurrent Testimony of *Historians*, to shew that the *Murmurs and Discontents* of the *People* did not arise from the *Intrigues* of the *York Faction*, but from *real Grievances*; that the *Nation* bore long and much; and that the *Faction* of the *Queen* and her *first Minister, Suffolk*, gave those *Advantages* to the *other Faction*, which were so cruelly improved.

This Minister seems to have been the first Contriver, as well as the *Negotiator* of the *Match* between *Henry VI.* and *Margaret of Anjou*, with a *View* to his own private *Interest* and *Ambition*. *Rapin* says, the *Earl of Suffolk* was sensible that *Henry* was incapable of holding the *Reins of Government* Himself; and consequently it could not be otherwise but that his *Ministers* would be liable to *Envy*, and bear the *Blame* of every Thing, that should not be relished by the *People*. In this Belief, he fancy'd the best Way to support Himself was to give the *King* a *Wife* and the *Kingdom* a *Governess* at the same Time.

As much as the *Conclusion* of this *French Match* was contrary to the *Interest* and *Inclinations* of the whole *Kingdom*, *Suffolk* and his *Creatures* pretended that it would be very instrumental in procuring a *Peace* between *England* and *France*. He was immediately created a *Marquiss* upon this Account; and having got

a *Parliament* at his Devotion, they voted him *Thanks*; address'd the King to *reward* Him; and even granted a *Subsidy* to defray the Expences of his *Embassy*.

The Fruits of this Marriage soon appeared evident to the whole Nation. The *Queen*, *Suffolk* and their *Creatures* govern'd with an absolute Sway. The good *Duke of Gloucester*, who had oppos'd the *Match*, and was very formidable to the *new Faction*, on Account of his popular Virtues, fell a Sacrifice to their Resentment. They found it impracticable to convict him legally of a *Sham-Plot*, which they had trump't up against him; but being determin'd on his Ruin, they found Means to dispatch him privately. In short, he was found dead in his Bed; and no Body doubted that he was murthered; having been either smothered, or put to the same cruel Death with *Edward the second*. — Was this unfortunate Prince a *Yorkist*, or a Bubble of the *Yorkists*? No; but He was a Sacrifice to the *Queen* and *Suffolk*.

These Proceedings of the *Queen* and her *Faction* set the Kingdom in a Flame, and drew upon them the universal Hatred of the People; who, *perceiving* (says *Rapin*) *that the Time appointed to procure a Peace was spent in vain, loudly murmur'd against the Marquis of Suffolk*. They made no Scruple to say openly, *that he had betray'd the King and the State; that the Treaty he had made with the French tended only to a Truce destructive of England, as it afforded the Enemy Time to fortify Himself*.

These Murmurs became at last so publick, that the *Marquis* thought it necessary to justify himself; and his Method of doing it is so very extraordinary, that it deserves a Place amongst these Remarks; especially since the Author of the *Reflections* seems to have a great Mind to pronounce *this Minister* innocent; for what Reason I need not say. I will transcribe the Account of his *Defence* (as it is call'd) from *Rapin*, that I may not be thought to make it more ridiculous and burlesque than it really is.

“ These

“ These Murmurs, *says he*, were so publick, that the *Marquiss* could not help taking Notice of them. In order therefore to endeavour to silence them, he requested the King that he would be pleased to hear his *Defence*, that he might satisfy him of his Innocence. Whereupon the King set him a Day to come and clear Himself, and heard him in his own *Appartment*, in the Presence of several Lords, none of whom were come there to refute Him. He gave an Account of all he had done in *France*; wherein he was at no great Loss to justify Himself; since, before his setting out upon his Embassy, he had taken Care to be provided with the *King's Orders*. Having finished his Discourse, the King declared he was satisfy'd, and gave him *Letters Patents* under the great Seal, whereby he acquitted him from all Imputation of Misdemeanor, and enjoyned all Persons, under Pain of his Displeasure, not to *accuse, or speak ill of Him*.”——What a summary Method of Tryal and Acquittal is here; a Method, which would have been follow'd, no doubt, by succeeding Ministers, in the same Circumstances, if it had met the desired Success? But the same *Author* observes that “ This was not capable of putting a Stop to the Murmurs of the People. Nobody question'd that the *King* would be satisfy'd; but That was not thought a Reason sufficient to satisfy the *Nation*.”

Soon after This, the *Marquiss of Suffolk* was created *Duke of Suffolk*, at the Intercession of the *Queen*; upon which the *Historian* observes that *one would have thought she intended to brave the People, by showering daily her Favours upon that Lord, extremely hated by the whole Nation*.

From hence it appears that the *Murmurs* and *Discontents* of the People did not arise, as the *Reflector* asserts, from the Intrigues of the *Yorkists*; but that the Intrigues of the *Yorkists* arose from the *Murmurs* and *Discontents* of the People.—*Rapin* says expressly that

that “ the Disposition most People were in, with Regard to the *Queen* and *Ministry*, inspired the Duke of *York* with Hopes that he should one Day be able to assert his Title to the Crown; and in another Place, that the whole Kingdom rung with Complaints against the Duke of *Suffolk*. It was publickly said that he had betray’d the State.—People complained that there were but few Persons of *Parts*, and still fewer of *Honesty* in the *Council*.—That it was the same Thing with Regard to Those in publick Posts; in whom *Honesty* and *Ability* were not so much required as an Attachment to the *Ministry*. They were no less dissatisfied with the *Queen*.—I will quote no more.

What! Because the People lost neither their *Privileges*, nor *Patrimonies* in *England*, ought They not to complain, when They had sustain’d so many other national Losses and Dishonours? Ought They to suffer *one Faction* to ruin the Nation, lest *another Faction* should arise? This would be like the Conduct of Those, who kill Themselves *to Day*, for fear of being kill’d *to Morrow*. Such an Argument will hold equally good against all Opposition whatsoever. It would have serv’d the Purposes of King *James the second’s Queen* and her Creatures as well as of *Henry the sixth’s Queen* and her Faction. It may be pleaded against all Reforms and Revolutions whatsoever; and the People may be taught to submit to the *greatest Evils*, because an Attempt to remove them may possibly be the Occasion of introducing *others as bad*; but it is needless to push this Argument into all its Absurdities.

The only good Use, that can be made of this Period of History, is by shewing what might have been done by a *Spirit of Liberty* and what was actually done by a *Spirit of Faction*; the former of which ought to be imitated, and the latter avoided, if a *parallel Case* should ever happen in future Times.—Had the *Lancastrian Party* joined heartily and unanimously to reform, They

They would have *preserved* the Government. They would have defeated the Designs of the *York Party*; but They turned into *Faction*. They did what the Author of the *Reflections* recommends. From a Fear of giving Strength to the *other Party*, They would not be guilty of any *curious and strict Enquiries into publick Management*. This maintained the *Court Faction* for a while; but gave Strength to the *other Faction* at the same Time, and at last ruined Henry and his Family.

Having laid this Foundation, I am ready to allow every Thing, that can be said against the *York Faction*. It is almost all true. They meant nothing by opposing the *Administration* of the Government but dethroning the *King*; yet They could not have dethron'd Him, if his *Wife* and his *Minister* had not paved the Way by their ill Conduct——The *Yorkists* oppos'd out of Hatred to the *Lancastrians*. The *Lancastrians* defended out of Hatred to the *Yorkists*——The *national Interest* was sunk in *two private Interests*——We express'd our Dislike of This —— The *Reflector* seems to think it would have been well for *England*, if the *national Interest* had been suffered to be sunk in *one* of them; but surely, it would have been much better, if it had been sunk in *neither*.

A true State of the Circumstances, which attended the Reign of *Henry VI.* will demonstrate the Truth of what was said in *Oldcastle's* first Letter; that a *Spirit of Liberty* will never destroy a free Government; but that a *Spirit of Faction* may.——Had the *Lancastrians* oppos'd the Intrigues of the *Yorkists* with a *Spirit of Liberty* and *Reformation*, *Henry the sixth* had kept his Crown; but when it came to be *Faction* against *Faction* it is no Wonder that He lost it.

The *Reflector* concludes with *hoping that the Reader will observe no Attempt, in this Discourse, to make Parallels between any particular Characters of this and a former Age.*——I must desire the same Indulgence
and.

and have a Right to insist upon it, at least, in *this Paper*. The Reader sees that I was call'd up to it by the Author of the *Reflections*; and that He charg'd me with *slipping over the Reign of Henry VI.* because it was a Reign of *Faction*, and therefore not fit for my Purpose. I hope I have given Him Satisfaction. I flatter my self, at least, that I have satisfy'd the World that the *Discontents* of the People, at that Time, and the Ruin of *Henry VI.* were not owing to the Intrigues of the *York Faction*, but to the Conduct of some *bad Men in Power*, who call'd Themselves the best Friends of the *House of Lancaster*, and deluded the *Queen* into their own Measures, under that Pretence—Who the *factionous* at present are, I shall not determine.

But since the *pensionary Writers* are encourag'd to continue their infamous Practice of instructing the People to interpret all historical Reasonings, by *Parallels and Innuendos*, into Libels upon *Majesty*; I must add a Word or two more upon that Subject.

The real Design of *these Papers* (as I have often declared,) is to shew that it is always necessary to the Preservation of *Liberty*, to keep up a *Spirit of Liberty*, in Opposition to a *Spirit of Faction*; and that the Reigns of almost all our *English Monarchs* have been either fortunate, or unhappy, in Proportion as *this*, or *that Spirit* hath prevailed.

In the Prosecution of this Design it was necessary to take a short View of the most remarkable Reigns in the *English History*; and to point out the *Measures*, which render'd Them either *fortunate*, or *unhappy*. In the *latter Case*, as well as in the *former*, We were oblig'd to distinguish the *Persons*, from whom those *bad Measures* proceeded; whether They were *weak Princes*, *ambitious Queens*, or (which is much more often the Case) *rapacious and ill-designing Ministers*.—Could not We do This for the Sake of *Instruction*, without intending a libellous Parallel to the *present Times*; and is it not a most scandalous Liberty, which
some

some People have taken in forming *such Parallels* out of their own Brains, and publishing Them to the World without any Disguise?

We may, perhaps, take Notice, in the Course of these Papers, that the *next Heir to the Crown* had too much Influence in the Councils of a *certain Reign*, and was the Author of several violent Proceedings; from whence *these Authors* may infer that We intend a seditious Parallel between *Him* and the *present Heir to the Crown*, with as much Justice as they have drawn their *other treasonable Parallels*.

As for their *present Majesties*, (whom I mention with Reluctance, upon this Occasion) it is well known that I have taken frequent Opportunities to declare my Attachment to their *illustrious House*; and I was so far from having any such Intention, as hath been laid to my Charge, in these *historical Abstracts* and *Remarks*, that I have us'd the utmost Precaution (consistent with my *general Design*) to avoid such an Imputation. I could demonstrate This, by producing Multitudes of Passages, which I have suppress'd, not only in the *Reign*, under our present Consideration, but likewise in several *former Reigns*, merely from an Apprehension that They might give these *licentious Writers* an Opportunity to exercise the malignant Humour of drawing *Parallels*; but I am sensible that even my doing This might be construed into the very *Design*, which I profess to avoid. I must therefore forbear at present, and be silent; with this Declaration, however, that I shall be ready, at any Time, to produce *those Passages*, when I am call'd upon to do it, under a sufficient Assurance that *no other Design* shall be imputed to me than my *own Justification*.

I can say no more upon this Head.—I hope what I have said is sufficient to convince all impartial Men of our *real Design*; and nothing will convince *Those*, who are hired to argue against Conviction.—We know *their Views* and the Views of their *Masters* in such
Applica-

Applications ; but whatever may be the Consequence, We must not suffer our selves to be menac'd out of our most valuable Liberties by such *vile* and *mercenary Prostitutes*. D. O.



N^o 231. SATURDAY, Dec. 5, 1730.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



HENRY VIII. came to the Crown with very great Advantages. Whatever Objections had been made to his *Father's Title*, there remained no Pretence of objecting to *his* ; and if any Pretence had remained, the Disposition to make Use of it would not have been found. The Nation was grown weary of *Faction* ; fond of *Tranquility* ; and every Day more and more attentive to the Arts of *Peace*.—The *Prerogative* had been extended wide and carried high ; and the Means employed, to acquire and maintain this Authority, had been established by a Reign of twenty-four Years.—The *Treasures*, which *Henry VII.* had accumulated and left to his Son, were immense ; and in leaving Him these Treasures, He left him That, which was more valuable than all of them. He left Him an Opportunity of gaining the *Affections* of his People, on his Accession to the Throne, by putting a Stop to that *publick Rapine*, which had been so long exercis'd ; and by disgracing and punishing Those, who had been the *principal Instruments* of it. *Henry VIII.* seiz'd the Opportunity and improved it. He confirm'd, in the first Moments of his Reign, that *Pardon*, which his Father

Father had granted in the last of his Life, and when He could hope for no farther Profit by *not pardoning*. He invited, by Proclamation, such as had been wronged to complain and promis'd them Satisfaction.

If *Henry VIII.* had been avaricious, or weak enough to prefer *Wealth* to *Popularity*, He would have observ'd another Conduct. He would have thought *those Men* fittest to serve Him, who had signaliz'd Themselves most in fleecing the People ; and without any Regard to their Ability in playing the *Game of Stat-smen*, He would have chosen them purely for their Skill in *packing the Cards*. *Empson* and *Dudley* would have continued in Power, and have risen in Favour. But He was too wise, or too honestly counsell'd in these Beginnings of his Government, to pursue *such Measures*, or to employ *such Ministers*. He kept some in his Council, who were of approved Abilities ; but far from loading his own Administration with the principal Guilt of the *former* ; far from grieving and provoking his People, by countenancing the *most hated*, and the *most justly hated*, *Men* of the whole Kingdom, He threw these *Criminals* out of the Sanctuary of the Court, and exposed them to that *national Vengeance*, under the Weight of which They perished.— The *Manner*, in which their Lives were taken away, seems liable to great Objection, and I would not be thought to approve it ; for a *Spirit of Liberty* can never approve *such Proceedings* even against the *worst* and the *most guilty of Men*, as may be apply'd to destroy the *best* and the *most innocent*. All I mean to commend is the Wisdom of *Henry VIII.* in abandoning *these Ministers* ; in gaining the *Affections* of his Subjects ; and in making such Impressions of Gratitude on their Minds, as lasted long and were of Service to Him, even when He oppressed the People in his Turn.

Vanity and *Presumption* were reigning Qualities in the Character of *this Prince*. The *first* betrayed Him into continual Errors. The *last* made Him per-

list in them. *Pride* is observ'd to defeat its own End, by bringing the Man, who seeks Esteem and Reverence, into Contempt. Vanity, self-Sufficiency, Presumption (the Offspring of *Pride*) have much the same Effect; since no one is so liable to be *deceived* and *govern'd* as He, who imagines that He is capable of *neither*.

The Characters of the Princes and Popes, of this Age, render'd the Scene of *foreign Affairs* very important. *Henry VIII.* was happy enough to have no Interest of *his own abroad* worth engaging Him in the Broils of the Continent. He was free from Guaranties of *foreign Dominions*, and from all Engagements to *foreign Princes*, which could in the least encumber Him. In this State He might have kept Himself with equal Dignity and Advantage. He might have increas'd his Strength, whilst other Princes wasted theirs. He might have been apply'd to as the Mediator, or Arbitrator of the christian World; and have found his Account in all the Wars and Negotiations, without being a Party in them.—He did the very contrary. A *Rose*, bless'd by the Pope; an *Emperor* serving in his Army, and taking his Pay; a whimsical Project of *Conquests*, never design'd to be made, and impossible to be kept, if They had been made, were sufficient to draw Him into the most extravagant Engagements; in which He always play'd *Gold* against *Counters* with Allies, who generally play'd *Counters* against *Gold*. His Engagements, of this Kind, became numberless, frequently inconsistent, and so very rash and unadvis'd, that whilst his Aim, or his Pretence, was to keep a *Ballance* between the great Powers of *Europe*, He more than once assisted the *strongest* to oppress the *weakest*.—The Spring of all this strange Conduct lay in the private Interests and Passions of *Wolsey*, who became his *first Minister* very early, and was his *Favourite* earlier. If *Henry VIII.* negotiated perpetually, and was perpetually the Bubble of *Those*, with whom and for whom He negotiated,

ted, This happen'd chiefly because He was, in the first Place, the Bubble of his *Minister*.——*Wolfey's* Avarice was fed and his Ambition flatter'd by the *Emperor*; by the Court of *France*; and by That of *Rome*, in their Turns. He supported Himself, in great Measure, at home by the Opinion of his Credit abroad; and his *Master's* Favour to Him was strengthen'd by the Art of *Those*, whom He serv'd at his *Master's* and his *Country's* Expence. In short, the Success, or Disappointment of his *private Schemes* were the Hinges, on which the whole Policy of this Nation turn'd for twenty Years; and the grossest Mismanagement, obstinately pursued, by the *Minister*, in the midst of universal Disapprobation, was sanctify'd by the *King*.

The *King*, no doubt, thought Himself as infallible in the Choice of *Men*, as in the Choice of *Measures*; and therefore when He had once given his Confidence to *Wolfey*, no Matter by what Inducements, his *Presumption* skreen'd the *Minister* from his Suspicion.

It was easy for *Wolfey* to keep his *Master* from hearkening to particular Advice, or to the general Voice of the People; because it was easy to persuade him that he wanted no Advice; that he could not be deceived, though his People might; and, perhaps, that it was unbecoming a great Prince to alter his Measures, or withdraw his Favour, on the Clamours of the Publick. At the same Time, we may fairly suppose (for the Monuments of *History* will justify us in supposing) that the *Butcher's Son* was not such a Bungler, nor render'd, by a low Education, so void of Address, as not to know how to insinuate without the Air of advising; and how to receive all his own Suggestions back from his *Master*, in the Style of Orders, with the utmost Demonstration of implicit Submission to his Judgment, and absolute Resignation to his Will.

But however blind the *King* might be, the Eyes of

the *People* continued open to *his* and *their* true Interest. The Discontent grew general; and to this general Discontent were owing the principal Difficulties, which *Henry VIII.* met with, during the first half of his Reign.—As much Complaisance as he had been us'd to find in his *Parliaments*, he durst not always demand Money of them, for the Support of his Enterprizes. His *Minister* soon put him upon the Expedient of raising it by his *own Authority*. But these Attempts were resented warmly, and oppos'd so flurdily, even when the rough Name of a *Tax* was changed into the softer Sound of a *Benevolence*, that the *King* was obliged to retract; to compound; to excuse himself; to disavow his *Minister*; and to pardon all Those, who had been concerned in *particular Insurrections*, from a Fear of one, which might become *universal*.

No Prince could be more firmly seated on his Throne. No Prince could be less framed to brook Opposition. No Prince could be less susceptible of Fear. And yet to this Point of Distress did *Henry VIII.* bring himself, by trusting his *first Minister* too much, and regarding the Sense of his *People* too little. —All Orders of Men concurred on these Occasions; and the *Merchants* signaliz'd themselves. Neither the Flattery, nor the Menaces of *Wolfey* could prevail on them to be silent, when they felt that *the'r own* and the *national Interests* were sacrific'd, or neglected, at every Turn. Much less could they be couzen'd so far as to expose their Fortunes in *Trade*, (the only Fortunes, which *Merchants* acquired in those Days) in order to conceal the Blunder of a *Minister*, or to stop the Clamour against him. We find a remarkable Instance of this Behaviour of the *Merchants* in the Year 1528; when the Commerce of the *low Countries*, on which our *woollen Trade* depended principally at that Time, was interrupted by a War with the *Emperor*, which evidently took its Rise from no other Motive than a Pique of the *Minister*.

The ill Success of these *illegal Methods* obliged the King to have Recourse to his *Parliament* ; but his *Parliament* thought like his *People* ; and the Opposition given in the *House of Commons* was such as became the representative Body of the Nation. That, which happen'd in the Year 1523 is worthy of particular Observation. It was not grounded only on the *Exorbitancy of the Sum demanded*, but likewise on the *Nature of the Service*, for which the Demand was made. As high as *Prerogative* was carried at this Time ; and as undisputed a Point as the Power of the Crown to make *War* and *Peace* might be ; yet it is undeniable that the *Commons* would not give Money, without knowing how it was to be employ'd ; and that they proportioned their *Grants* to the Judgment they made of the Reasonableness, or Unreasonableness of the *Employment* design'd.—*Wolsey*, the most insolent Minister our Nation had seen at *that Time*, was however so far from objecting to this Method of proceeding in the *House of Commons*, that he open'd to that House, in a long Discourse, the Reasons of the *King's Measures* ; as he affected to call his *own Measures* ; and endeavoured to prove the Necessity of supporting them. Nay, when neither his *Rhetorick* could persuade, nor his *Authority* influence, he offered to debate the whole Matter, and to answer the Objections of Those, who oppos'd the *King's Desires*. The *House* rejected his Offer ; observed their Forms ; maintained their Dignity. They disapproved a War, wantonly undertaken, and in which the Interests of the Nation were not concerned. They shewed however their Regard to the *King*, by giving *some Part* of the Subsidy, and their Regard to the *Kingdom*, by refusing, to the last, to give the *whole*.

As for the *Minister*, he received the Mortification, which he deserved.—These frequent Oppositions, on the Part of the *People* and the *Parliament*, were really made to the *Minister*. *Henry VIII.* seem'd, on some Occasions, to desire that they should be so understood,

even before *Wolsey's* Favour began to be in its Wain; and yet we shall have no Reason to be surprized, if we consider the true Character of *this Prince*, that these very Oppositions prepared his Mind for receiving those Lessons, which *Wolsey* was ready to give him against *Liberty* and in Favour of *arbitrary Power*.

—A wicked Minister, who neither gains, nor deserves to gain, the good Will of a Nation, must secure and will endeavour to revenge Himself, by persuading his Master to neglect it. Force and Corruption being the sole Means, by which he can maintain his Power, and preserve his ill-gotten Wealth, it is necessary for him that the Prince, whom He serves, should look upon *Those* as the sole Expedients, by which Government can be supported. *Wolsey* pursued this abominable Scheme. He look'd upon the King's Subjects, says Rapin, as so many Slaves; and unfortunately for Them, He inspired the King by Degrees with the same Principles; and insinuated to Him that He ought to consider the Parliament only as an Instrument to execute his Will—These were the Seeds He sowed; which fell on a rank Soil; and produced, in the latter Half of *Henry's* Reign, such bitter Fruit as this Nation never tasted before, nor since.—*Wolsey* had been the Scandal and the Scourge of his Country, whilst he liv'd; and He continued to be so even in the Grave.

O.



SATURDAY,

N^o 232. SATURDAY, Dec. 12, 1730.

THE following Article, which hath lately appeared in the News-papers, deserves our immediate Consideration, viz.

“ They write from *Dublin*, that an
 “ Officer from every Regiment in the
 “ *French Service* is arrived there, in order to raise Re-
 “ cruits for their respective Corps ; which is not to
 “ be done in a *clandestine Manner* as formerly, when
 “ several Persons suffer’d *Death* for it, but *publickly*.
 “ These Gentlemen are to disperse themselves into
 “ the several Counties, where They have the *best In-*
 “ *terest* ; and a *Field Officer* is to reside constantly at
 “ *Dublin* to hear all Complaints, which may be made
 “ by any of the Recruits against their Officers ; and
 “ also to prepare for sending them off.—Count *Brog-*
 “ *lio* hath been soliciting an Order, to this Purpose,
 “ these two Years.

When I first read this Account in the publick Prints, I look’d upon it as a common Piece of *false Intelligence*, and was in full Expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next Day’s Papers, according to frequent Custom ; but having since heard it confidently affirm’d to be true, (though I can hardly yet believe it ; especially, as to every Part) the Duty, which I owe my *Country*, and my Zeal for the *present Establishment* oblige me to take some Notice of an Affair, which I apprehend to be of very great Importance to *both*.

It will be necessary, in the first Place, to give the Reader a short Account of the Nature of *these Troops*, as They are now establish’d in *France*. They

They consist, as We have been inform'd, of one Regiment of *Horse*, and five Regiments of *Foot*, all doubly, or trebly officer'd ; so that They are, of Themselves, a very considerable Body of Men.

But their *Number* is the least Point to be consider'd in this Affair. There are other Circumstances, which render *these Troops* infinitely more formidable to *Great Britain*. They are not only all *Roman-Catholicks*, but the most dangerous of that Communion, with respect to *Us*. I mean *Roman-Catholick Subjects of our own Dominions* ; many of whom have been oblig'd to fly their native Country, on account of *Rebellions* and *Conspiracies*, in which They have been engaged ; and all of them devoted by Inclination, by Interest, by Conscience, by every Motive human and divine, to the Service of the *Pretender*, in Opposition to the *Protestant Succession in his Majesty's royal Family*.

To This We may add, that They are generally esteem'd the best Forces in the *French Service* ; that They have always behav'd Themselves as such in the late Wars ; and are commanded by *Officers* of approv'd Courage, as well as great Skill and Experience in military Affairs.

It is said likewise, that the *Serjeants, Corporals* and *private Men* are so well season'd to Danger and expert in their Duty, that, by a gradual Promotion, They could furnish *Officers* for a very formidable Army, in case of any sudden Invasion, or Insurrection.

In the next Place, it will not be improper to examine this Affair with Regard to our *Laws*.

It is made *Felony*, by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, for any Subject of that Kingdom to enlist Himself, or to enlist others, in the Service of any *foreign State* ; and it is well known that Multitudes of poor Wretches have suffer'd *Death* upon that Account.

We know it may be said that a Power is reserv'd to his Majesty, by a Clause in *that Act*, to dispense with it, by granting any *foreign Prince* a Licence to raise Forces in his Dominions, and indemnifying his Subjects from the Penalties of the *Law*. Though

Though it is far from my Intention to dispute any of his Majesty's *legal Prerogatives*, or to call the Wisdom of the *Legislature* in question; yet I must take the Liberty to observe that *such Powers* have been sometimes granted out of Complaisance to the *Crown*, that the Prince's Hands may not be absolutely ty'd up, and in full Confidence that They will never be exerted but for the Benefit of *this Nation*, or possibly of some *Protestant Ally*, upon great Emergencies of State. The Exercise of the *Prerogative*, in these Cases, is therefore meerly a *prudential Part*, which is left to the Discretion of the *Prince* and his *Ministers*, who ought always to be supposed the best Judges of these Affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the *Attorney-General* for his Opinion in such a Case, who can be a competent Judge of nothing but the *Legality* of it, and whether the Affair be *actionable* or not; but *Ministers* ought to regulate their Conduct, in these Respects, according to the Situation of Affairs and the Exigencies of Government.

I must therefore beg Leave to consider the present Subject, of the *Irish Forces*, in this Light.

It will not be deny'd, I presume, that a Licence to recruit *Roman-Catholick* Regiments of *English* Subjects, in *foreign Service*, and in the Interest of a *Pretender* to the Crown, (which is *Death* by the *Law*, without his Majesty's Permission) is a Favour of a very extraordinary Nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary Circumstances.—I confess that I can see no such extraordinary Circumstances at present; unless it should be said that *this Favour* was granted, in order to engage our *good Allies* in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope They have more Generosity than to insist upon such hard Terms for the effectual Performance of That, which They are oblig'd by *Treaty* to do. I am sure, such Conditions seem unreasonable on our Part, after We have made them so many other Concessions; particularly with relation to the *Flag* and *Santa Lucia*; which I think are sufficient to make

Them

Them comply with all our Demands, without expecting any farther Favours and even Supererogations of Friendship.

Perhaps, my *Adversaries* (if They have any Conceit) may take an Opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this Strain; but as it sometimes serves their Turn to make me a *great Man*, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so; and, methinks, if I had the Honour of being but half an Hour in that Station, I could reason against such an Order, for the Good of my King and my Country, in the following Manner.

1. *These Troop*, have always been made Use of, whenever there hath been any Attempt in favour of the *Pretender*; and indeed they are, upon many Accounts, the fittest for this Purpose. They are our Fellow-Subjects; They speak our Language; are acquainted with our Manners; and do not raise that Aversion in the People, which they naturally conceive against *other foreign Troops*, who understand neither.—I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for *this Purpose*, in *intire Regiments*, without suffering them to be mix'd with the Troops of any *other Nation*. It is well known, at least, that They supply'd the late King *James* with a Nursery of Soldiers, who were always ready for his Service, whenever any Opportunity offer'd itself for his Restoration; and that, at this Time, the *Pretender* is always the Bait made use of by their Officers to raise Recruits. They never mention the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*, upon these Occasions; but list the poor Wretches under an Assurance that they are enter'd into the Service of *Him*, whom They call their *natural* and *rightful King*.—I will not suspect the present Fidelity of *France*, and their Cordiality to the *Protestant Establishment*; yet methinks We might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing Them with *Instruments*, which They may employ against us, whenever *Ambition*, or *Reason of State*, shall dis-

dissolve their present Engagements, and induce them to espouse the Cause of the *Pretender* again.

2. It is very probable that his *catholick Majesty* (who hath likewise several Regiments, of *this Kind*, in his Service) will expect the same Favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in case of Refusal, make it a Pretence, at any Time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our Commerce, and disturbing us again in the Possession of *Gibraltar*; and here it is proper just to take Notice that *these Troops* did his *catholick Majesty* the most eminent Service in the last Siege of that important Place—He may complain, perhaps, of our Partiality to *France*, and alledge that We do not treat *Spain*, in the same Manner We expect to be treated by them, as *one of the most favour'd Nations*.

3. The Kingdom of *Ireland* seems, at this Time, in a very ill Condition to admit of any such Draughts out of her Dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary Transportation of Multitudes of her Inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the Calamities of their own Country, to seek their Bread in other Parts of the World) that the Interposition of *Parliament* was found necessary to put a Stop to it; and shall We suffer any *foreign Power* to drain her still farther under such Circumstances; especially in *this Manner* and for *this Purpose*?—I do not hear that *this Licence* is confin'd to any particular Number of Men. It is confess'd, I think, that They want above *two thousand Men* to compleat their Corps; and who knows but They may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some *new Regiments* of *these Troops*? But supposing They are confin'd to a *certain Number* of Recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a Capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such Limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when People conform exactly to the Terms of their Commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late, famous Controversy, con-

concerning Mr. Wood's Patent for supplying *Ireland* with a particular Sum of *Copper Half pence*; and the Arguments upon *that Subject* may be apply'd to *This*, with some Allowances for the Difference between the two Cases.—It may, perhaps, be said likewise that all the Vigilance of the Ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from *clandestinely* recruiting these Regiments with *Irish Catholics*; and therefore that We may as well allow Them to do it *openly*; nay, that it is our Interest to let them purge *Ireland* of her *Popish* Inhabitants as much as they please; but I deny This for several Reasons, which I shall mention presently; and if it were really the Case, that the *French* can at any Time recruit these Troops *clandestinely*, I cannot see any Reason why they should solicit an Order so pressingly, for *two Years* together, to do it *openly*, unless they have some *other Design*.—Ought not even this Consideration to put us, at least, a little upon our guard; and is it not a tacit Confession that *these Troops* are thought to be of more Importance to *Them* than *We* ought to wish.—Besides, are We to licence and authorize a *mischievous Practice*, because we cannot *totally prevent* it?—Every Body justly applauded his Majesty's singular Firmness and Resolution in supporting the Rights of his *German Subjects*, when an Attempt was made to seduce some of them into the King of *Prussia's* Service, though perhaps it is impossible to prevent that Practice intirely. We all remember that the insinuating *Miller's Son*, and a few other, ordinary Peasants, occasion'd such a Misunderstanding between the two Crowns, as proceeded almost to a Rupture. Nor was the Zeal of the *English Parliament* backward on this Occasion; but, on this Consideration amongst others, resolv'd to keep up a Body of 12,000 *Hessian* Troops in our Pay, which have already cost us above a *Million* of Money. I am confident therefore that the same paternal Care will always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his *British Subjects* in the same Manner; and if any Measure should

should be taken, which favours too much of the *French Interest*, and seems of dangerous Consequence to the Interest of *his Family*, the World can impute it to nothing, but the deceitful Representations of *Those*, who lie under such particular Obligations to the Court of *France*, that They can refuse them nothing.

4. Such a *Licence* seems to give Encouragement to the People of *Ireland* to continue *Roman-Catholicks*; since they are sure to meet with a Provision both in the *French* and *Spanish Service*; whereas We always reject them in *our Troops* and absolutely prohibit our Officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, though it may not be safe to trust Them in our Armies; yet certainly We ought not to give the least Encouragement to their entering into *foreign Service*; especially into such compact Bodies as *these Regiments*; and here it will not be amiss to relate a Story much to the Honour of an *English Nobleman*, who hath also one of the largest Estates in *Ireland* of any Man in the Kingdom. When he went to visit the *Invalides* in *France*, a Place in the Nature of our *Chelsea College* here, all the *Irish* Officers and Soldiers of that Hospital drew out in a Body to do Him particular Honours. We can make no Question that their chief View was to have some *Present* from his Lordship; but though he hath an *Heart* as well disposed to generous Charity as any Man, and a *Purse* well able to answer the Dictates of it; yet out of Regard to his Country, for which He hath likewise the most disinterested Zeal, his Answer to them was only This. “ Gentlemen, I am very sensible of
“ the Honour you have done me, and heartily pity
“ your Misfortunes; but as you have drawn them
“ upon yourselves, by *serving against your Country*,
“ you must not expect any Relief, or Reward from
“ Me, for having suffer’d in a Service, in which I
“ wish you had never engaged.

5. Is there not some Reason to apprehend that *this Licence* may, at one Time or other, prove a Snare to

that Country, and draw many People into their Destruction; for, unless it is made *perpetual*, can it be supposed that all the poor ignorant Wretches in the Kingdom should be appriz'd how long *this Licence* is to be in Force; or when they may list with *Impunity*, and when they may not? Besides, as it may be presum'd that *these Officers* will never go, for the future, upon such Errands, without some *pretended Orders*, when the *real One* is expir'd; so They will find it no difficult Matter to impose such a *Counterfeit* upon illiterate People; who may thus incur the Penalties of the *Law*, without knowing any Thing of the Matter.—Such a Method of providing for Persons, whose Principles render them unserviceable in *our Army*, is indeed a little more charitable than a *late Project* for preventing *Irish Children* from being starv'd, by fattening them up and selling them to the *Butcher*.

6. I have often heard that *these Troops* have been made use of, in Parliament, as an Argument for keeping up a *standing Army* in *England*; and I think We need not take any Measures to render *that Argument* stronger.—God knows, there are too many Arguments always ready upon *such Occasions*.

I might insist upon some other Points, which *this Affair* naturally suggests to a considering Mind; particularly the Danger of suffering several *bigotted, Irish Papists*, in *foreign Service*, to disperse Themselves into those Counties, where they have the *best Interest*, and to stroll about *Ireland* amongst their Relations and old Acquaintance, of the *same Principles* with Themselves.—Are We sure that They will not make a bad Use of this Liberty, by enquiring into the Strength of their *Party*; by giving them *Hopes*; and taking an Opportunity to concert Measures for the Advantage of their *Cause*?—Have we no Reason to apprehend that They may endeavour to raise *Seamen* as well as *Soldiers*, under Colour of *this Order*; or engage great Numbers of their Countrymen to transport themselves
over

over to the *French Colonies* and *Plantations* in the *West-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading Interest of *Great Britain* in those Parts.

But whatever may be the Motives to such an extraordinary Favour, or the Consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest Mark of our Confidence in *France*, and such an one as, I believe, They would not place in us, upon any Occasion.—I will illustrate This by a parallel Case.

The *French Protestants*, who fled over hither from a Persecution on account of Religion, never discover'd any Principles, which are incompatible with the civil Government of *France*, nor ever set up any Pretender to the present royal Family of that Kingdom; and yet if we should think fit to form any considerable Number of them into compleat, distinct Regiments, to be composed of *French Protestants* only, and commanded by *French Officers*, without any Incorporation of *British Soldiers*; I fancy it would give our good Allies some Umbrage. But I am almost confident that they would never permit us to send over a *Protestant French Officer* from every Regiment, to recruit their respective Corps, by dispersing themselves into those Provinces, where they have the best Interest; or suffer a *Field Officer*, in *English Pay*, to reside constantly in *Paris*, and exercise a sort of martial Law in the Capital of their Dominions; I say they would hardly suffer This, even tho' our Ambassador should solicit such an Order, with the utmost Application, for twenty Years together.

And yet the Case of these *Irish Forces* is much stronger with respect to Us. They do not differ with us only in Matters of Religion; but hold Principles, absolutely destructive of our civil Government; and are generally look'd upon abroad as a standing Army, kept on Foot to serve the Pretender upon any Occasion.

I must ask a Question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this Place.

What Power is this *Field Officer* to exercise, during his Residence in *Dublin*?—Is the *French martial Law* to take Place, if any of these Recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert.

Troops are generally *arm'd* as soon as they are listed.—Is *this Rule* to be observ'd in the present Case? If so, another Question occurs.—It hath been found necessary, for the Security of *Ireland*, to restrain all *Roman-Catholicks* from wearing, or keeping any *Arms* in their Houses. I ask therefore whether the Authority of *this Licence* is to supercede the *Laws of the Land*?—I may go farther.

The Garrison of *Dublin* seldom consists of above 800 Men for the Duty of the Place.—Supposing double that Number of *Papish Recruits* should be brought thither, in order to be view'd by their *Field Officer*; will it be said that there is no just Apprehension of Danger?—But, as these Suggestions may appear to be founded on the Infidelity of *France* (a Case not to be supposed at present) I will press them no farther.

I must however repeat it, that *this Order* is the fullest Demonstration of the *Confidence* We repose in Them; and I hope They will scorn to make any bad Use of it; but if it were possible to suspect that they could have any Design to play the Knave with us, they could not wish for a better Opportunity to promote it than by such a *Power*, as is now said to be put into their Hands.

I hope my Remarks on this *Article of News* will not be construed in a *Jacobite Sense*, even by the most prostitute Scribblers of the present Times; but I must beg Leave to expostulate a little with the Publick on that mean and infamous Practice, which *these Writers* have lately used, in explaining some of my Papers into treasonable Libels; taking an Occasion from hence to appear formally in Defence of the *Throne*, and laying it down, as a Point granted, that
there

there is an actual, concerted Design of setting aside the *present Establishment*.—— This is a Practice, which may be of great Service to the *real Enemies* of the present Government; and every *Jacobite* in the Kingdom may make Use of it to publish the most *explicit Invectives* on the King and his Government, under the Pretence of interpreting the *implicit Design* of other Writings. It is a Practice, which was never allow'd of till now, and ought never to be allow'd; for whatever may be the *secret Meaning* of any Author, *such Explanations* are certainly *Libels*, which may have a very bad Effect upon weak Minds, and are punishable by the *Laws*, without any extraordinary Methods of Construction.—— *These Writers* ought to remember the Case of Sir Richard Steele, who publish'd the *Pretender's Declaration*, at the Beginning of the late Reign, with an *Answer* annex'd; and though he did it with a very good Design, yet it was universally allow'd to be contrary to *Law*; and, if his Principles of *Loyalty* had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe Prosecution.—— I shall make no Reflections on *Those*, who encourage such *scandalous Explanations*; and *Those*, who are hired to do it, are beneath my Notice.—— Let them empty all the trite common-Places of servile, injudicious Flattery, and endeavour to make their Court by such nauseous, dishonest Adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most Offence to *those Persons*, to whom it is paid.—— Let them throw as much foul Dirt at *Me* as they please.—— Let them charge me with Designs, which never enter'd into my Thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any Part of my Conduct.—— God knows my Heart, I am as zealous for the Welfare of the *present royal Family* as the most sordid of *these Sycophants*.—— I am sensible that our Happiness depends on the Security of his Majesty's Title, and the Preservation of the *present Government*, upon *those Principles*, which established them, at the late *glorious Revolution*; and which, I hope, will con-

tinue to actuate the Conduct of *Britons* to the latest Generations. These have always been *my Principles*; and whoever will give himself the Trouble of looking over the Course of these Papers, will be convinced that *They* have been my Guide; but I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old Man, who am not afraid to speak the *Truth*; and as I have no Relish for *Flattery* myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not however been sparing of *just Praise*, nor slip't any seasonable Opportunity to distinguish the royal Virtues of their *present Majesties* — More than This I cannot do; and more than This, I hope, will not be expected. — Some of my Expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolish'd for the Climate of a *Court*; but they flow'd purely from the Sincerity of my Heart; and the Freedom of my Writings hath proceeded from my Zeal for the Interest of my *King* and my *Country*.

With Regard to my *Adversaries*, I will leave every impartial Reader to judge whether, even in *private Life*, that Man is not most to be depended upon, who being inwardly convinced of the great and good Qualities of his Friend, never loads him with *fulsome Flatteries*, but takes the honest Liberty of warning him against the Measures of *Those*, who are endeavouring to mislead him. — The Case is much stronger in *publick Life*; and a *Crown* is beset with so many Difficulties, that even a Prince of the most consummate Wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the Dangers, which surround him, from the Stratagems of *artful Ministers*, or the Blunders of *weak ones*. Both of them may be equally *bad Ministers*, and pursue the *same Methods* of supporting themselves, by flattering him into *Measures*, which tend to his Destruction.

But it is time to draw to a Conclusion; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any Design, contrary to the Interest of the *present Establishment*, I should have sat down contented and secretly rejoiced at the *Affair*, which occasioned this Paper, instead

instead of giving my self and the Reader so much Trouble. C. D.



N^o 233. SATURDAY, Dec. 19, 1730.

REMARKS *on the History of England continued.*

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



THE Divorce of *Henry the VIII.* and *Catherine of Arragon* begins a new and most memorable *Æra* in the general History of *England*; and indeed of all *Europe*. It is the Beginning likewise of a new Period in the particular Reign, of which We are speaking.—A King, who had been till now the great Assertor of the Authority of the *Pope*, and the great Defender of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, undertakes to destroy the former in his Dominions, and gives several incurable Wounds to the latter.—A King, whose whole Attention had been employ'd abroad, and in whose Time there was no Treaty and almost Conventicle in *Christendom*, wherein He had not his particular Agent and Interest, (as my Lord *Herbert* expresses Himself) becomes wholly taken up with domestick Affairs; and if He looks abroad, during the rest of his Life, it is chiefly on Account of what passes at home.—He, who had connived at *Seditions* and pardon'd *Insurrections*, grows impatient of the least Contradiction.—He, who had often compounded with his *Parliaments*, and submitted to them on many Occasions, dictates all their Proceedings; and the Voice of the *Law* is little else than the Eccho of the Voice of the King.—In short; He, who had been led, amused, governed by his Minister, drives, over-
bears,

bears, tyrannizes ; butchers his *Servants* and his *Wives*, his *Commons* and his *Nobility*.

When *Henry the eighth* first engaged in the Affair of the *Divorce*, He could not foresee the Consequences of it ; because He certainly did not expect the Difficulties, which gave Occasion to them. He went on, during the two first Years, in the beaten Road, by which so many others had gone before to the same End ; and He seemed to have no View besides That of employing the Authority of *one Pope* to undo what the Authority of *another Pope* had done. Nay, after *Cranmer* had begun to open other Views to Him, He seemed still to cling to *Rome* ; resolved to succeed any Way ; but desirous to succeed that Way.—Happy was it that He took his Measures no better, and that He was no better served on this Occasion than on many others !—He suffer'd Himself to be amused by *Clement the seventh*, the least scrupulous Man alive ; and who would have divorced Him, or have done any other pontifical Job for Him, if the *League* form'd to reduce the *Emperor's* Power in *Italy* had succeeded. But the *Emperor's* Power there continuing to prevail, the *Pope* concluded his Treaty with *this Prince* on the most advantageous Terms. He obtain'd that favourite Point, for which He would have sacrificed not only the Interests of *Henry VIII.* but even 'Those of the *Papacy* itself. I mean the Re-establishment of the Family of *Medicis* on the Ruins of the *Florentine Liberty*. The Loss of *Genoa*, the total Destruction of the *French Army* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and several other Considerations induced *Francis the first* to make his Peace with the *Emperor* likewise, and to submit to the Treaty of *Cambrai*.

Thus did *Henry VIII.* find himself at once disappointed in the Expectations He had been made to entertain from the Court of *Rome*, and destitute of all foreign Assistance ; *Francis* being the only Ally, of whom He could avail Himself to influence the Councils of *Rome*, in Opposition to the *Emperor*.

In this State of Affairs, *Henry* resorted to That, which will be always the best and surest Reserve of a King of *Great Britain*; the Inclinations, and Affections of his *People*. He had not the Trouble of disposing them, for He found them already dispos'd, to his Purposes. The Spirit, rais'd by *Wickliffe*, about two Centuries before, against the Usurpations of the *Pope* and the *Clergy*, was still alive. The Sufferings of the *Lollards*, as his Followers were call'd, had not abated it. The *Art of Printing* had been propagated; and the late Success of *Luther* had encourag'd it. There were Multitudes therefore, in all Parts of the Kingdom, who desired a compleat Reformation of the *Church*, both in *Doctrine* and in *Discipline*. Others again were content that the *papal Authority*, grievous in its Nature, and scandalous in its Exercise, as well as the extravagant Power and impertinent Immunities of the *Clergy*, should be taken away. But They meant to go no farther. Many would not go even so far as This; but were still Slaves to all their Prejudices; and remained, in the midst of this Defection, attached to the *Pope*, as well as to the corrupted *Doctrine*, and the depraved *Discipline* of the *Church*.

Whilst the *Divorce* was solicited at *Rome*, and the Proceedings, relating to it, were carried on by the Direction and under the Authority of the *Pope*, it was the *King's* Affair; it was the Affair of his *Ministers*. But when it appeared impracticable in this Method, and *Henry* resolved, in order to accomplish it in another, to deliver Himself and his *People* from the Yoke of *Rome*; the Affair of the *Divorce* became a *national Affair*, and the Cause of the *King* became the Cause of his *Subjects*. As He proceeded in it, He was encourag'd to proceed. The Concurrence of his *People* grew every Day more general, and He was supported with the greatest Warmth. He soon held the *Clergy* at his Mercy; and the *Popish Party* was broken and terrify'd, if not entirely crush'd.

During

During this eager Pursuit after *ecclesiastical Liberty*, a Power very dangerous to *civil Liberty* was erected. We observed before that the *Prerogative* had been carried high and extended wide in the Reign of Henry VII. who obtained much by *Law*, and obtained more by his Manner of *construing* and *executing* the Law. His Son, parting with none of his Authority, and improving the Conjuncture so as to acquire a great deal more, acquired so much at last, that the Power of the *Crown* exceeded by far that Proportion, which is consistent with the Security of *publick Liberty*, and *private Property*. It is true, indeed, that He always took Care to have the *Law* on his Side; and would neither venture on the Exercise of *Acts of Power* against it, or without it. His Experience, in the former Part of his Reign, had taught Him the Danger of such a Conduct; and, in the latter Part, He had no Occasion to pursue it. The Opinion of the Nation went along with Him now; and, as exorbitant as his Demands frequently were, his *Parliaments* refused Him nothing. At one Time, They gave up to Him, in a great Degree, the *legislative Authority*; and his *Proclamations* were made, under some Restrictions, equivalent to *Acts of Parliament*. At another Time, They ascribed to Him a Sort of *Infallibility*; and *Letters Patent*, under the great Seal, were made necessary to determine the *Articles of Faith*, which Men were to believe fully, and the *Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonies*, which they were to observe and practice, under severe Penalties. — The suspicious State of Affairs *abroad* was amplified to give a Pretence to one of these Laws; and the confused State of Religion *at home*, and the clashing of Parties about it, might afford some Colour to the other. — The Truth is, that any Pretence served, at this Time, to grant whatever the King desired; a stronger Instance of which cannot be imagined than That of the *Subsidy*, obtained in the Year 1540. Henry had got
immense

immense Riches by the *first* and *second* Suppression of *Monasteries*. A principal Inducement to the *last*, which was likewise the *greatest*, was This ; that the *King* might be enabled, without taxing the People, to defend them against such *Invasions*, as the Court had been pleased to suppose ; and with the Rumours of which the Nation had been purposely alarmed. These *Invasions* did not happen. *Henry* continued in Peace with all his Neighbours ; and yet, the very next Year, he not only accepted from the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, with the Approbation of Parliament, a Grant of the *fifth* Part of their Revenue ; but he demanded a *Subsidy* likewise of the House of Commons. So extravagant a Demand could not but meet with some Opposition. The *Subsidy* however was granted in as large a Proportion, as if the Nation had been engaged in a *dangerous War*. The Reasons for granting it were almost burlesque. It was affirmed, by the *King's Party*, that He had laid out vast Sums in securing the Coasts ; and that the keeping his Subjects in Peace and Plenty, cost Him more than the most burthensome War.—Thus a Precedent was made of converting into ordinary Aids of the Government those heavy Taxes, which ought never to be felt by the People, unless upon the most extraordinary Occasions. That they ought to be laid in Time of War, neither was, nor ever could be doubted. That they were equally necessary in Time of Peace, was now established by the Logick of the Court ; and we may be sure that the Argument would have been urged with still more Force and Effect, if the Nation had fallen, by the Management of the Courtiers in that Age, into such a Situation as could neither be called properly a *State of War*, or a *State of Peace*.

The absolute Power, which *Henry* the VIII. exercised over the Purses, Lives, Liberties and Consciences of his People, was due to the intire Influence, which he had gained over the *Parliament* ; and this Dependency of the *two Houses* on the *King* did, in Effect,

Effect, establish *Tyranny by Law*,—If we look for the *true Cause* of this Dependency, we shall find it, as *Rapin* hath very judiciously observed, in those Divisions of the Nation, concerning *Religion*, which I have mentioned above.—The *Party*, which oppos'd *all Reformation*, by a bigotted Attachment to the Discipline, as well as Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, furnished the *King* with as many Pretences for grasping at Power, and squeezing Money out of his People, as *Ambition* could wish, or *Profusion* require.—The *other two Parties* concurred with the *King*, and went together to a certain Point; that is, to throw off the *papal Yoke*, and to lessen the Power of the *Clergy*. But here they separated, and went different Ways; *one* to carry the *Reformation forward*; and the *other* to stop it, where it *then stood*; whilst the *King* seemed to keep in a middle Way between them both.—Sometimes, He seemed to favour *Those*, whose Principles led them to an *intire Reformation*; and he touch'd the *Doctrine*, though with a gentler Hand than the *Discipline* of the Church.—Sometimes, he appeared zealous for the *Doctrine*, and even for some Part of the *Discipline*; and the Manner, in which he often executed that bloody Statute, the *Law of six Articles*, would incline one to think that he join'd to his *political Considerations* a Tincture of *religious Prejudice* on these Heads. But however That was, certain it is that the Hopes, which each of these *two Parties* entertained of the *King*, and the Fears, which they entertained of *one another*, occasioned their continual *Bidding* for him, if I may be allow'd to use such an Expression. This Emulation formed then, what it always must form, the most dangerous Conjunction, to which *Liberty* can be exposed. When the Motives of contending Parties are founded on *private Ambition* and *Avarice*, the Danger is great. How much greater must it be, when these Motives are founded on *Religion* likewise; when the Heads and Hearts of both Sides are heated even to Enthusiasm; when

when *this Spirit* mingles it self with the *Spirit of Faction* ; so that some through Folly, and some through Knavery, are ready to sacrifice *publick Liberty* to their particular Schemes of *Religion* ?

In such Circumstances as These was this Nation, when *Henry VIII.* dy'd ; and if he had left a Son and Successor, of full Age and bold and enterprizing like himself, our *Liberties* had been irretrievably lost, according to all Appearances — *Henry VIII.* by applying to his *Parliaments* for the extraordinary Powers, which he exercised, and by taking these Powers for such Terms and under such Restrictions as the *Parliament* imposed, owned indeed sufficiently that they did not belong of Right to the *Crown*. He own'd likewise, in Effect, more than any Prince, who went before him, how absolutely the Disposition of the *Crown of England* belongs to the People of *England*, by procuring so many different and opposite Settlements of it to be made in *Parliament* ; and yet Tyranny was actually establish'd. The Freedom of our Government might flourish in Speculation ; but certainly it did not subsist in Practice. — In the Case therefore supposed above, our Fore-fathers would very soon have found how fatal it is, in any Circumstances, by any Means, or under any Pretences, to admit Incroachments on the Constitution ; and how vain it is, when these Incroachments are once admitted, for the Service of some present Turn, to prescribe Limitations to the Exercise, or Duration of them.

But Providence directed the Course of Things better, and broke those Shackles, which we had forged for our selves. A *Minority* followed this turbulent Reign ; the Government was weak ; the Governors divided ; and the Temper of the People such as made it prudent to sooth them. This the Duke of *Somerset* did, out of Inclination, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, out of Policy. To the *former* we owe not only the compleat Establishment of the Church of *England*

on the Ruins of *Popery*, but the first and great Steps, which were made to restore a *free Government*. In the very first Year of his Administration, several Acts, which had passed in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* and in some preceding Reigns, grievous to the People, and destructive of *Liberty*, were repealed; and among others that absurd Act, which gave to *Proclamations* the Force of *Laws*. The *Law of the six Articles* was likewise repealed. Others were explain'd; and several *new Laws* were made in favour of *civil*, as well as *ecclesiastical Liberty*; both of which got so much Strength, in the Reign of *Edward VI.* that they were able to stand the short but violent Shock of *Queen Mary's* Reign. This Princess lived long enough to confirm, not to destroy, our Religion by *Persecution*. The ill-concerted Insurrection of *Wiat* gave Strength to the *Faction*, which prevailed at Court, and discouraged, for some Time, all Opposition; nay, the Methods taken to influence the *Elections* and to gain by *Corruption* the Members, who were chosen, were carried on so openly that the *Price*, for which each Man sold himself, was publickly known. No wonder then if the *papal Authority* was restored, and the *Queen's* Marriage with *Philip II.* approved. But this State of Things could not last long, nor was the Nation disposed to bear a continual Sacrifice of her Interest to *Rome* and *Spain*.

The *Parliament*, corrupt as it was, began to revolt against the *Court*. The *Spirit of Liberty* revived; and that Spirit, and the Spirit of Reformation in *Religion* had made more Progress than was readily perceived. This Progress had been made principally among the *Commons*; and therefore, though the Authority of the Crown, of the Council, and of the great Lords kept up other Appearances; yet there was a secret Fire burning, which must and would have broke out. The Effects of the Causes, laid in the Reign of *Henry VII.* began now to appear. The
Lands

Lands of the *Nobility* were lessen'd, and Those of the *Commons* increased. *Trade* had been encouraged for several Years. We see that some Care had been taken of it, even in the troublesome Times of *Edward IV.* and very much was done towards the Advancement of it in the Reigns of *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* The *West-Indies* had been discover'd about half a Century before ; and Part of the immense Treasures, which flow'd from thence into *Europe*, began to increase the Profits ; and, increasing the Profits, to increase the Industry of our Merchants. *Henry VIII.* had sold a very great Part of the *Church Lands* at low Prices, on purpose to engage the Body of the Nation in one common Interest against the *Romish* Clergy. The *Commons* had made their Use of this Strain of Policy, and had got into very great Estates in *Lands*, by These as well as by other Means ; so that the *King*, the *Lords* and the *Church*, who had formerly held so great an Overballance of Property in *Land*, had now little more than one *Third* of the Whole belonging to them ; the Consequences of which were not foreseen by *Queen Mary* ; neither did she live long enough to feel them in any great Degree. They did not escape the Penetration of her *Sister*. She foresaw them ; and the great Glory and Happiness of her Reign may justly be attributed to this first Principle ; that she had the Wisdom to discern not only the actual Alteration, which was already made, but the growing Alteration, which would every Day increase in the State of *Property* ; that she accommodated at once the whole System of her Government to this great Change ; and instead of depending upon *Expedients*, which were now no longer of Season, chose the *sole Expedient*, that remain'd for making herself and her People happy : which was to place the whole Strength and Security of her Government in the *Affections* of her People, and in her superior *Credit* with them.

O.

O 2.

THE



T H E
CRAFTSMAN EXTRAORDINARY.



AM always sorry to trouble the Reader in this extraordinary Manner ; and have never yet done it but upon extraordinary Occasions ; and when I thought the Matter of such Importance, as deserved the immediate Attention of the Publick.

In the present Case, a *certain Person* hath thought fit, with an insolent Air of Authority, to contradict what I lately observed, on a Report that a Permission had been granted to the *Irish* Regiments, in the Service of *France*, to recruit in *Ireland* ; and having given Me the *Lye* in Print (which is certainly the safest Way of *circulating unguarded Scandal*) I think myself obliged to take the first Opportunity of returning it to Him ; and of treating Him in the Manner, which such scurrilous Language deserves.

But This is not the only Motive, which induced me to vindicate myself in an *extraordinary Paper*. The *Letter* in the *daily Courant*, which gives occasion to it, was published so late in the Week, that I could not give it any Answer in my *last Paper*, (as I was called upon to do) unless I had confined myself to the *Author's* Method, of barely *contradicting* what He says with an *ipse dixi*, and giving Him back the *Lye*, without offering one Argument to support my own Remarks. As This is a Method of Reasoning, which I can never approve of in myself, any more than in others, I resolved to give his *Letter* an Answer at large ;

large ; and thought it improper, for several Reasons, to let it go unexposed till next *Saturday*.—Besides, that Paper is engaged upon *another Subject* ; and I shall not suffer the Course of it to be interrupted by such *occasional Matters in Dispute*.

As silly as this Letter certainly is, it may, perhaps, be thought by some Persons to be very *ministerially* drawn up, according to the modern Phrase ; which signifies a certain prevaricating Method of saying *one Thing* and meaning *another*. It is evidently calculated (in Imitation of *another Letter*, concerning the Restitution of *Gibraltar*) to impose upon the World, by seeming to deny what the *Craftsman* hath advanced upon this Subject ; and yet, in effect, owning the same Thing ; as I shall presently demonstrate.

He begins with telling us that “ the *Craftsman* hath, with his usual Malignity, animadverted upon a *false Article of News* ; (*probably of his own forging*) and hath, however he may condemn it in others, endeavour’d to persuade the People that “ the *Pretender* is at the Door, and ready to break “ in upon us.

I wish no Body had ever been more guilty than the *Craftsman* of *forging* sham Discoveries of *Intelligence* and *secret Articles*, in order to persuade the People that the *Pretender* was at the Door, and to load them with *unnecessary Expences*, under the Colour of preventing Him from *breaking in upon us*. But, I hope, the selfish Designs of *some Men*, in making the *Pretender* a Tool of their Ambition, ought not to put us entirely off our guard, or to make us neglect any seasonable Precautions against Him, which may be taken without putting the Nation to a *Farthing’s Expence*. On the contrary, this Consideration ought to deter us from entering into any *Measures*, or making any *Concessions* in his Favour, which may be hereafter urged as an Argument for *extraordinary Methods* of guarding against Him.

If the *Craftsman* had really forg'd this *Article of News*, (as the *Letter-writer* impudently suggests) in order to make his own *Animadversions* upon it, I confess, it would be a Mark of some *ill-Design*; but I hope a Man may animadvert on any *important Piece of News* (though it should happen to prove *false*) without incurring the just Imputation of any *Malignancy*.—Let me apply this Observation to the *Craftsman*, with Regard to the Case now before us.

An *Article of News*, to this Effect, and I think in the very Words quoted by Him, had pass'd uncontradicted, in all the publick Papers, for above a *Fortnight* together. The Substance of it was generally believed to be true by the whole Town, and confirm'd by repeated Advices from *Ireland*; which said, that several *French Officers* were actually arrived at *Dublin* for this Purpose, and had dined publickly with the *Primate*. The *Craftsman* did not animadvert upon it, till He had made what Enquiries He could into the Truth of it, and got the best Information in his Power. Nay, even then He expressed his *Surprize* to hear it so generally confirmed; declaring at the same Time that He could not yet believe it, in every Particular; and the manifest Drift of his Paper was to shew the ill Consequences, which He apprehended from this Measure; in hopes that They might have Weight enough to prevent such a *Licence*, if it was not actually granted; or to cause a Revocation of it, if it was granted—A Right, which the *Liberty of the Press* gives to every *Englishman*; and which hath been frequently exercised in all Reigns since the *Revolution*, upon Occasions of the same Nature,

Supposing therefore that this *Article* had proved *false* in every Particular; what hath the *Craftsman* done, but what became an *honest Briton*, and seemed incumbent on a *publick Writer*, who professed a Zeal for *Liberty* and the present *Establishment*?

But how is this *News*, or my *Animadversions* upon it

it, proved to be *false* ? — Why, the *Letter-writer* tells us that “ if the *Craftsman* could lay so much “ Stress upon a *common News-Paper*, as He pretends, “ when He transcribes a whole Paragraph from it, “ relating to the *French Officers* recruiting in *Ireland*, “ He ought to have taken Notice of another Piece “ of Intelligence, which He might have had from “ as good (because it is the *same*) *Authority*. I forget, “ *says He*, which of the Papers I saw it in; but there “ was an *Article*, some Time since, signifying that “ the *Lords Justices and Privy-Council in Ireland* had “ prohibited the *French Officers* to raise any Men “ there.” — It is possible that there might have been such an *Article* in the *News-Papers*; but I do not remember that I ever saw it; and if I had, I confess that I should not have laid so much Stress upon it as upon the *other*; for the Reader will remember that I did not found my Observations meerly on the Credit of a common *News-paper*, or of all the *News-papers*, but on the concurrent *Belief* of the whole *Town*, and the Testimony of repeated Advices from *Ireland*. — But there is no Occasion to dwell upon the Authority of this *latter* Piece of Intelligence; because the *Letter-writer* Himself does not seem to lay any Stress upon it, by passing it slightly over, with saying that it is *immaterial* whether it is *true* or not; tho’, by the Way, I cannot think it at all *immaterial* to his *Argument*, whatever it may be to *mine*.

“ It is, I believe, true (*says he*) that there are “ *French Officers* there, who may give Themselves “ what *Airs* They please.” — If it is *true* that there are *French Officers* in *Ireland*, who came thither for this Purpose, and begin already to give Themselves *Airs*, (a pretty, negligent Phrase upon such an Occasion!) is not this Author a most confident little Fellow to charge the *Craftsman* with forging this Article of News, and endeavouring to alarm the People with unjust *Apprehensions*? It is to be presumed from hence, that

that these Officers strut about with an *Air of Security*; and if they are allow'd to enlist our Men, I think it is no great Matter with what *Air* they may please to do it; whether with the pert, cavalier *Air* of a *Mousquetaire de Paris*, or with the slouching *Air* of a *little dirty Englishman*, lugging up his Breeches.

But it seems They are liable to *hanging*, if They attempt to *enlist Men* without his Majesty's *Sign manual*; and He “positively assures us that his Majesty, as YET
“*hath given no such Warrant*; and, as a Proof of it,
“says, there hath not been one Man *publickly* listed
“in *Ireland*, for the *French Service*, before the *first*
“of this Month; which is the latest that any Letters
“have come from thence.”

This Paragraph seems to be very tenderly worded, and comes from a Person, who *gives Himself Airs* of being in the Secret of his Majesty's Counsels. It is said, in the *first Place*, that no *such Warrant* hath been YET given; and *secondly*, as a Proof of This, that not one Man hath been PUBLICKLY listed in *Ireland*, for the *French Service*, BEFORE the *first* of this Month.—But will this *slovenly Politician* take upon Him to aver, with the same Confidence, that no *Promise* of this Kind, or at least of *Connivance*, hath been made to the *French Court*, either *formerly*, or at *this Time*?—Was there never any Order sent to the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, or to any *other Person in Authority* there, to this Purpose?—Will He undertake to assure us that the *French Officers* did not come over under *such a Promise*, or with *such an Expectation*?—Has no *Sign manual*, or other Instrument of the same Kind, been granted to secure them from the Penalties of the Law?—Will he say They never declared that the *Design* of their coming over was to raise such Recruits; or that They have made no Attempt to *enlist Men*, since their Arrival in *Ireland*?—I believe even *this Writer*, as hardy as he seems to be in his Assertions, will not venture to give us any such Assurances.—Let
Him

Him consider whether stronger Evidence may not be produc'd of the Truth of what We have advanced; and whether it is adviseable for Him to press us too far in this-Affair.

The *Craftsman* did not assert that a *Licence* was actually granted; but He had sufficient Reason to make Him believe that such a Thing had been in Agitation; and I think he has Reason to be a little vain upon hearing that his Prophecy, with relation to *Spain*, has happen'd to prove true. I do not assert This; but must beg Leave to ask another Question of this *Cabinet Author*.—Has there been no Passage in any of Mr. *Keene's* late Letters, intimating a Demand, a Request, or an Expectation of the *Spanish* Court, to be gratified with an Indulgence of the same Nature.—If there has been any such Intimation, it is a Proof, not only of the Reasonableness of my Apprehension, but of the Truth of the Fact itself; for if the Court of *Spain* had no just Grounds to believe that we had granted such a Licence to the *French*, they could have no Pretence to demand, or expect the same Favour themselves.

If after all that hath been said upon this Point, it shall be judged improper to grant a *publick Warrant* to empower these Officers to recruit in *Ireland*, we hope they will not be suffered to do it by *Connivance*; because That would be more unjustifiable than authorizing it by *such a Warrant*, as it implies a Self-conviction that it ought not to be done. In one Case, it is certainly *legal*, whether it be *prudent*, or not. In the other, it is absolutely *illegal*, as well as *imprudent*.

If therefore any of *these Officers* should attempt to list Men, without his Majesty's *Sign manual*, (which is necessary to save them from *hanging*) and if any honest Justice of the Peace should be induc'd, by his Zeal for his Majesty's Government, to take them up for such an Attempt, We may presume, I hope, that the Course of the Law will not be interrupted by a *Noli Prosequi*.

I shall

I shall take no Notice of his Observation, that the *Craftsman's labour'd Harangue may be shewn to be foolish, provided the Subject Matter were true*; because his Letter is evidently foolish, whether his Assertions are true, or false; nor of his vain Expectation that I should take Shame to myself; which he knows, in his Conscience, to be a Duty incumbent upon his own Family.

But I must not omit that wise Concession, where he says, that *if this be not true, I shall acknowledge my Intelligence false, and myself a DUPE*.—Why, indeed, if what He hath said is not true, it is pretty plain that his Intelligence is false; but alas! what Need is there of such an Acknowledgment?—It is well known that we have had several most egregious *Dupes* of late Years; and, what is worse, that they have endeavour'd to make their Country as great a *Dupe* as themselves.—Who but a *Dupe* could have been persuaded to believe that a *miraculous Tide* had opened the Harbour of *Dunkirk*?—Who but an *arrant Dupe* would have engaged Himself in a Promise to get the Family of *one* of the most dangerous of these *Popish Officers* restor'd; and, when that Proposal was justly rejected with the general Indignation of his Country, complain'd in a sniveling Manner, that his Services would be of no Importance, if He was not enabled to make his Engagements good?—It can be no Wonder indeed that a Man, who suffer'd Himself to be *duped* into such a Promise, might be weak enough to involve Himself in the other.

There are two more Writers, who have appear'd against the *Craftsman* upon this Occasion; and nothing is more remarkable than their inconsistent Methods of treating the same Subject.—The Letter-writer in the *Courant* puts on an Appearance of denying the *Fact*. Another justifies the *Licence*, admitting it to be true; and a *Third* endeavours, with an awkward Affectation of *Humour*, to ridicule the *Craftsman* upon his

his Conversion to the *Protestant Interest*. If He had ever really been in any *other Interest*, (as They have often complain'd) I think They ought to congratulate Themselves on the Success of their Writings, and to rejoyce over a *repenting Sinner*, instead of reproaching Him ; but They know that He hath pursued the same Principles of *Liberty* from his first Appearance in publick to this Day ; and therefore all their *cold Wit* is only a Confutation of their former Calumnies.

The *two Writers*, last mention'd, who came to the Aid of their *Deputy-Master*, the *Letter-writer*, have made several little Objections to those Parts of my Paper, upon which I manifestly laid the least Stress ; such as the Power of the *French Field-Officer* at *Dublin* ; the *arming* of these Recruits ; and the Danger of admitting a large Number of them into the *Capital* of the Kingdom.—The Reader cannot forget that I mentioned these Points only by way of *Question*, or *Precaution*, and not by way of *Argument*.—I did not pretend that such *Suggestions* are of sufficient Weight to raise those Apprehensions, which I express'd ; but, taking it all together, I think the Argument unanswerable ; and the general Approbation of *that Paper*, by Persons of all Parties, even Courtiers Themselves, is a sufficient Justification of it.

What these Writers have advanc'd, concerning the political Expediency of purging *Ireland* of its *Popish* Inhabitants, is not so much a Reflection upon *Me*, as upon the *Legislature* of the two Kingdoms, who have made so many Laws against listng *British* Subjects into *foreign Service* ; and therefore I shall content myself, at present, with laying before the Reader some farther Authorities, in relation to these Troops.

My Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that the King of *Spain* enter'd into a Treaty with our *Charles II.* (during his Exile) that all the *Irish* Regiments, in his Pay, should be at the Service of their *own King*, as He was then call'd,

call'd, whenever He should have Occasion for them.— I have heard that there was a Treaty of the same Nature, with Regard to *these Troops*, between the late King *James*, after his Abdication, and *Louis XIV.* which, perhaps, may be still subsisting; but however That may be, the Devotion of these Troops to the Interest of the *Pretender* is past all Doubt; and no Service would be so agreeable to Them, as an Invasion of *England* upon his Account, if a proper Conjunction should ever offer itself.

About the Year 1680, We find a Remonstrance of the *English House of Commons* to the King, containing an Enumeration of their Grievances; one of which was that a large Number of *British Subjects* had for a long Time been and still were suffered to remain in the Service of *France*; and, I think, his Majesty comply'd with this Representation of his People, either in whole, or in Part.

But what is still much stronger to the Purpose, is an ever-memorable Act of the twelfth Year of the late *Queen Anne*; which I shall therefore transcribe at large.

An ACT to prevent the listing of her Majesty's Subjects to serve as Soldiers, without her Majesty's Licence.

WHEREAS several ill-affected Persons, Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain*, have lately, in open Defiance of the Laws, presumed traitterously to list divers of her Majesty's Subjects, within the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to serve the Person pretended to be Prince of *Wales*, during the Life of the late King *James II.* and since his Decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of *England*, by the Name
of

of *James III.* as Soldiers, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of these her Majesty's Kingdoms: And whereas the like traiterous Practice may be more covertly carried on, under Pretence of listing her Majesty's Subjects to serve as Soldiers under some FOREIGN PRINCE, STATE, or POTENTATE: For Remedy whereof, be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by and with the Authority of the same, that if any Subject of the Crown of *Great Britain*, from and after the first Day of *August* next, shall, within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, or *Ireland*; or from and after the first Day of *October* next, without the same; list or enter himself, or procure any Person, being a Subject of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, to list or enter himself; or hire or retain any Person, being a Subject of her Majesty, her Heirs, or Successors, with an Intent to cause such Person to list or enter himself; or procure any Person, being a Subject of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, to go beyond the Seas, or embark, with Intent and in order to be listed to serve any foreign Prince, State or Potentate, or Person whatsoever, as a Soldier, without Leave or Licence of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, first obtain'd for listing any of the Subjects of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors, to serve any such Prince, State or Potentate, or Person, as Soldiers, under the Sign manual of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors; every such Person so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be taken, deem'd and adjudg'd to be guilty of *high Treason*, and shall suffer and forfeit as in Cases of *high Treason*.

And be it farther enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that where any Offences against this Act shall be committed out of this Realm, the same may be al-

‘ ledged and laid, inquired of, and tried in any Court
‘ ty of Great Britain.

This is sufficient to shew the Sense of the *Legislature*, that the Practice of inlisting *British* Subjects in *foreign Service* was a dangerous Practice; because it might serve as a Pretence for raising Men for the Use of the *Pretender*, and is a *more covert Way* of carrying on such a Design. Her Majesty indeed was empowered to authorize *foreign Princes* to enlist Men, by Virtue of her *Sign manual*, when she saw Occasion; and *one* of the Writers against me hath argued that *such Licence* may be as justly granted to the *French*, as to any other *foreign Ally*. I must therefore recommend the following *Proviso*, in this Act, to his Consideration.

‘ Provided always, that no LICENCE shall be effectual to exempt any Person from the Penalty of this
‘ Act, who shall list, or cause to be listed or enter’d
‘ any of the Subjects of her Majesty, her Heirs or
‘ Successors, in the Service of the FRENCH KING
‘ until after that the said *French King* shall have *disbanded, broken and dismissed* all the Regiments, Troops, or
‘ Companies of Soldiers, which he hath or may have
‘ in his Service, consisting of the *natural-born Subjects*
‘ of the Crown of Great Britain.

It deserves particular Notice that this Act was pass’d after the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*; and yet it was thought so reasonable, notwithstanding our *Friendship* with that Crown, that it met with no Opposition from the Gentlemen in the *Administration* at that Time; and I leave the World to judge what Clamour the *Whigs* would have made, if *that Ministry* had oppos’d it; and whether they would not have been alarmed with stronger Apprehensions of the *Pretender’s breaking in upon us*.

It is true, indeed, that the Act was *temporary*, and made only for *three Years*; so that it hath been long expired; but it will serve, at least, to explain the Intention.

ention of *other Acts* to the same Purpose. It shews the Sense of the *Legislature*, that such Bodies of *British Subjects*, in *French Service*, were dangerous to our present *Constitution*; and therefore it is a full Answer to *Those*, who endeavour to ridicule our Apprehensions upon this Account, and even argue for the Expediency of suffering them to be recruited in *Ireland*.

As to the Limitation of *this Act* to a *certain Time*, it is observable that most *penal Laws* are made so at first. The *Irish Act* of Parliament itself, if I am rightly inform'd, is only *temporary* (like the *late Law*, against sending Money to any *foreign Prince*) and continued from one Term of Years to another; and though his Majesty is not restrained, by *this Act*, from granting even the *French* a Licence to recruit in his Dominions. As the late Queen was by a *particular Exception*, till they had broke and dismiss'd all these Regiments, or Companies of her natural-born Subjects; yet, I hope, a *meer Power in the Crown* will not be urged as an Argument for the *Prudence of exercising it*.

Having thus furnish'd *these Writers* with sufficient Matter for their present Employment; I will conclude in the *Letter-writer's* own polite Words — *If He speaks honestly to This*, by fairly answering *these Questions*, and proving the Parliaments of both Kingdoms to have been duped into such Laws without any Reason, *his Arguments shall be considered*; but, at present, *He requires no other Answer than giving Him the plain* NO; and I shall leave the World to judge, whether it does not most properly belong to Him. D. C.





N^o 234. SATURDAY, Dec. 26, 1730.



Nothing conduces so much to the Credit and Authority of a *Prince*, in foreign Courts, as the Preservation of his *Honour*, by a religious Adherence to all his Engagements. A private Gentleman cannot support his Character without a Regard to this Principle of *Honour*; and certainly it is more necessary in sovereign Princes, whom Fortune hath placed in a much higher Sphere, and upon whose Conduct the Welfare of whole Nations depends.

For what is the true Design of all *Treaties* but an Accommodation of Differences between the contracting Parties, in order to prevent the Effusion of *Blood*, or the Interruption of mutual Advantages by *Trade*; and how can that End be obtain'd, unless the Terms agreed on are faithfully executed on both Sides; or how can *one Prince* put any Confidence in *another*, who hath frequently violated his Honour upon these Occasions?

Whilst Matters continue in Dispute between them, and in a Train of Negotiation, it is the Duty of every Prince to make as good a Bargain for *Himself* and his *People* as He can; but when They have adjusted their respective Claims, and enter'd into solemn Articles of Agreement, the Time of Chicane is over, and

and They ought to think of nothing but putting them in Execution.

A *Treaty* between Princes is of the same Kind with a *Deed* between private Persons, consisting of mutual Covenants, which the *Law of the Land* obliges Them to perform ; and the *Law of Nations* is equally obligatory upon the other. The only Difference consists in This ; that the *Law* cannot be put in Force against *Princes*, who break their *Covenants*, without having recourse to *Arms* ; and therefore it was a Custom, in former Ages, for Princes to bind themselves in a *formal Oath* to observe their *Treaties*. How long this Solemnity hath been disus'd, I cannot exactly determine ; but the Reason of it seems to be that the *Faith* and *Honour* of a crown'd Head (which ought always to be sacred and inviolable) are supposed to render it unnecessary. However, so much of this Form is still preserved, that most *Treaties* begin in the Name of the ever blessed *Trinity*, and the contracting Parties stipulate with each other to perform their Engagements, in the most solemn *Terms*, equivalent to an *Oath*, though the Ceremony of administering it in Form is now laid aside by mutual Consent.

A *Treaty* therefore is the most sacred Engagement that can be enter'd into by Men ; and how much soever it may have lost of its Solemnity by the Perfidy of some wicked *Princes*, who have had no Regard to their *Faith*, or their *Honour* ; it ought nevertheless to be esteem'd, both from its Nature and the Manner of its Conclusion, the strongest Tye that can be invented. Kings ought to be strictly determined not to violate them, when once They are made ; because as They pretend to be the *Vice-gerents of God* on Earth, it behoves them, in a particular Manner, to act with *Piety* and *Virtue*. Nay, it appears that their *Interest*, as well as their *Honour*, makes it necessary for Them to preserve their *Faith* inviolate, in order to obtain the

Confidence of their Neighbours, to gain Reputation abroad, and be trusted again.

A Character of *Honour* and *Probity* is not only desirable by an *honest Prince*, but even by the most *self-interested, private Man*. It makes him beloved, revered, and esteemed by all the World. It renders him the Arbitrator of the Differences of his Neighbours, and raises him to a Degree of Credit, which he can attain by no other Means.

From hence it follows that all *Governments* ought to be very cautious, not only how they enter into *Alliances*, but even not to enter into any without the utmost Necessity. A prudent Man will not tie Himself up by any *obligatory Contract* without very good Reasons ; but it is still much more to be avoided in an Affair of so great Importance, which innumerable Accidents may turn to the Prejudice of a whole Nation; especially, when we consider how frequently *Treaties* reduce Those, who make them unadvisedly, to the Necessity either of *suffering extremely* by keeping them, or of *losing their Honour*, by breaking them.

In the next Place, great Care should be taken to form *Treaties* in such a Manner, as that They may be *lasting*. The Confusion, which we have notoriously experienced, even in this Century, from the want of due Care in the Particular just mention'd, is sufficient to prove it ; for it produces such a Multitude of Engagements, that it requires as much Study to gain a tolerable Knowledge of the Interests and Obligations of the Princes of *Europe*, as to be well acquainted with the *Law of England* ; though, God knows, That is almost as difficult as the most abstruse Point of the *Mathematicks*. Besides, the *reciprocal Guaranty*, which is now so much in fashion, tends to put all *Europe* into Confusion, and to make every *petty Prince's* particular Quarrel a general War.

In order therefore to avoid these Evils, it should
be

be laid down as a Rule to make *Alliances* with those Nations only, whose Interests are as nearly as possible the same with our own; for it is a never-failing Māxim that no *Treaty* will be kept long, which is not for the Interest of both the Parties. We have Instances of the same Thing in private Life every Day; and We have certainly much more Reason to expect it in publick Life, as we commonly find a less Regard for the Rules of Morality in *political Affairs*.

In this Particular, We should not form our Judgment suddenly upon the *present Apprarance* only, nor change our Conduct upon every *little Alteration of Affairs*, which may have some temporary Influence on the Interests of Princes; but we ought to depend more on constant Observation of the general Practice of the Nations round about us for many Ages; since it is hardly probable that any People should have a *constant Enmity*, for many Ages, to any other Power, if it had really been for their Interest to have been strictly united.

A very particular Regard ought to be had to these *national Feuds*; for though, in the Infancy of such *Broils*, there might be no Objection to the Union of the two Kingdoms; yet these perpetual Quarrels rivet an Antipathy in the Minds of each People, which can hardly ever be work'd out; and which, as long as it lasts, makes a *strict and sincere Alliance* almost utterly impracticable. I do not mean that We should always continue in War and Variance with such a Nation; but only that we ought to avoid such a *close Conjunction* with them, as may by Degrees bring us into a State of *absolute Dependence* upon them.

Lastly, to establish a *firm and cordial Alliance*, it is necessary to chuse those Countries, which come nearest to us in their Manners, in their Liberties, in their Religion, and in their Climate; for every one of These
hath

hath a very great Influence on the Minds of Men, and in reconciling them to one another.

This being a true State of the Case, with Regard to *Treaties* and *Alliances*, a greater Misfortune cannot befall a well-meaning Prince, than to place his Confidence in a *Minister*, who hath more Regard to his *own Interest* than his *Master's Honour*; and having rashly involv'd Himself in *unnatural Treaties*, or *Alliances*, finds it necessary to blunder on, and to patch up one wrong Measure with another.

A *limited Monarch* is more especially affected in this Case; for an *absolute Prince*, who hath no other Rule of Government than his *own Will*, may sacrifice the Interest of his People, at any Time, to the Pursuit of his Ambition, or the Preservation of his Honour; but a King, who is obliged to govern by *Law* and the *Affections* of his Subjects, is not at Liberty to follow his *own Schemes*, or the Projects of his *Ministers*; and therefore ought to be very cautious how he proceeds, and not to involve Himself in any *Promise*, or *Engagement*, which the Interests and Inclinations of his People will not enable Him to fulfil.

This Limitation is so far from being any Diminution of the Power of a great Prince, that it is really an Addition to it, and strengthens his Hands. It is a Restraint only from *doing ill*, which is contrary to his own private Interest, as well as the publick Good. It serves as an Excuse to Him, at all Times, for not complying with the unreasonable Demands of foreign Nations, and never ties up his Hands, but when He ought to wish it Himself; for no Nation will be so mad as to obstruct the Measures of a Prince, which apparently tend to their own Advantage; and Experience teaches us that the calm, deliberate Resolutions of a *free People*, in Concurrence with their *Sovereign*, have more Influence, in foreign Courts,
than

than the wanton, arbitrary Counsels of the most absolute Prince upon Earth.

Aristotle observes very well, upon this Head, that a King ought to have Power enough to protect the Laws; but not such Power, as may render Him more potent than the Kingdom; and *Plato* says, much to the same Purpose, that when any one is not bound to give an Account of his Actions, but governs according to his Will, without any Controul, it will be difficult for Him to preserve such a true Judgment and Temper of Mind, throughout his whole Life, as to prefer the publick Good before what He may falsely esteem his private Advantage.

These Restraints therefore are really Benefits to a Prince, and any Minister, who endeavours to break through them by little, tricking Arts, or momentary Expedients to keep off the evil Day from Himself, is a Traytor to his Master, as well as to his Country; for as the Authority of a sovereign Prince depends, in a great Measure, on the Reputation of his Honour, no Promises ought to be made in his Name, but what He can perform; nor ought He to perform any Thing contrary to the general Interest of the Nation, which hath placed the Crown upon his Head.

What therefore shall We say to a Writer, who is not ashamed to insinuate that the present Ministry have been distress'd, by Opposition, into bad Measures and Expedients, which They would have willingly avoided? — I believe those Gentlemen will not thank Him for this Concession, that They have been forc'd to do ill; and I am sure that his Apology for Them is most ridiculously groundless; for I may defy Him to point out any Administration, in any Age, or in any Country, from the Creation of the World to this Day, which hath been so little distress'd by Opposition as the present. The same Charge, of embroiling and distressing the King's Affairs, was formerly alledged against these

these Gentlemen themselves, when They thought fit to resign their Employments ; and the Reply, which was made to it by one R—— W—— Esq; may be urged with much more Justice on this Occasion.

“ It is evident, *says He*, that there hath not one
 “ *Vote* gone contrary to the King’s Desires. Even
 “ That of *asking Money without a Specification of the*
 “ *Manner of disposing it*, tho’ opposed by many Gen-
 “ tlemen, whom *these Persons* had no Influence upon,
 “ yet passed the House with the highest Demonstra-
 “ tions of *Duty and Confidence* to and in his Majesty’s
 “ Prudence, and his royal Inclinations to do nothing,
 “ but what should be for the Good of all his People.
 “ ———Why does not *this Libeller* give one Instance,
 “ wherein the King’s Affairs have been *distressed* ;
 “ and why does he not explain what he means by
 “ *these Men’s* hazarding all ? Are the King’s Affairs
 “ in a *distressed Condition* ; or are they not in the
 “ most *flourishing Condition* that ever they were
 “ in, or that ever this Nation knew the *publick Af-*
 “ *fairs* in ?

But it seems, notwithstanding This, that the *Ministers have been driven into Expedients and Measures, which They would have gladly avoided.*——I wish Mr. Osborne had been so good as to specify what *these Measures and Expedients* are, that I might have been able to give him a particular and distinct Answer.—I hope, He does not mean that our *Alliance with France* is one of them, because the *Treaty of Hanover* was signed long before the *Craftsman* appeared in publick ; and I cannot recollect that He hath endeavoured to obstruct *one Measure*, which it was the Interest of the Nation to pursue.

He is graciously pleased to acknowledge that “ if
 “ We think *Ministers* err in their Measures, it is our
 “ Duty to shew Them *where their Error lies* ; and
 “ to

“ to lay before the Publick, at proper Times, (as before the Meeting of Parliament) *such Measures* of the Gentlemen in the Administration, as We think *wrong*.”——This is certainly the Right of every *Englishman*; and I hope it will be allowed that We have exercised it with great Steadiness in this Paper, and perhaps not altogether without Effect.——Did We not appear with the warmest Zeal in Behalf of *Gibraltar*, when it was the Fashion to depreciate the Importance of that Place?——Have We not, at *proper Times*, espoused the Cause of the *British Merchants*, against the Depredations of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*?——Did We not assert the Honour of the *Flag*, when an Officer was said to be broke for doing his Duty?——Did We not lay our Thoughts before the Publick, concerning the *Treaty of Seville*; particularly with Regard to the famous *Variation* (as it was called) from the *Quadruple Alliance*, upon which the whole Treaty depended?——Did We not express our Apprehensions of the *French Settlement* at *Santa Lucia*, and the Reparation of *Dunkirk*, which were both contrary to Treaties?——Lastly, to mention no more Instances, have We not done our Duty, in pointing out the great Error of suffering the *French Regiments* to recruit in *Ireland*?

The Conduct of our *Adversaries*, on this last Head, is very remarkable. When We first enter'd upon this Subject, and endeavour'd to shew the Danger of such a Measure, a *certain, little Gentleman* came strutting out in Print, and very cavalierly gave us the *Lye*; but having return'd Him the Compliment and put a few *cross Questions* to Him, He thought proper to sneak in again, and did not dare to stand the least Examination.

We are now told that the *French Officers* have left that Kingdom *re infecta*; and if our Writings conducted,

ced, in any Degree, to prevent the Execution of their Design, I think We ought to take a little *Glory*, instead of *Shame* to ourselves.

Will Mr. Osborne say that this suppos'd Indulgence to *British Rebels*, in *foreign Service*, was one of the *Expedients* He means; or that it was made *necessary* and *unavoidable* by the Writers of the *Craftsman*? He knows very well that We have constantly argued against all *Expedients*, which are contrary to the Interest of the Nation, and shew'd the Danger of pledging the Honour of a *King*, upon every little Occasion, to get over a present Difficulty, or serve a private Turn.

If the *Treaty of Seville* should prove to have been only an *Expedient*, which was judg'd necessary to serve a *certain Purpose* last Year; and if it should appear that *those Persons*, who engaged to see it *effectuated*, are only endeavouring to find out *another Expedient* to free Themselves from that Engagement; will *this Writer* say that *such an Expedient is made necessary by those Gentlemen*, who declared their Apprehensions, at the most *proper Time*, that the Execution of *that Treaty* would be attended with very great Difficulties; or will He dare openly to assert (what He hath already too plainly insinuated) that our present *able Ministers* were *driven into such Distress*, that They could not carry on the usual Business of the Season without a *Treaty*, of some Kind or other, though They were sensible that it was a *bad one* Themselves?

I have already observed that *no Men in Power were ever distress'd so little in their Affairs*. I mean with Regard to the important Article of *Money*, which is the most effectual Way of *distressing Ministers*; and We have been often told by *these Gentlemen* that They despise the Opposition of an *inconsiderable Minority within Doors*, or the Clamours of a *Mob-majority without*.

But

But Mr. *Osborne* seems to have alter'd his Opinion by conjuring Mr. *Oldcastle* and his Friends in the most pathetic Terms, to drop their Resentments against particular Persons and unite for the Good of the Publick. Nay, this imaginary Distress of his Patrons hath made Him so humble, that he condescends to beg the Assistance of those Gentlemen, whom He hath so often abused, in shewing where We have erred; what are the Causes of that Error; and how We shall remove them. The poor Man really seems to be so very penitent and sensible of his Error, that I hope Mr. *Oldcastle* and his Friends will take some Compassion upon Him, and free Him from those terrible Apprehensions, which run in his Mind; especially since He hath made them so great a Compliment as to say that their Concurrence only will make us too hard for all the Power and Arts of other Nations; enable us to hold the Ballance of Europe; and give Law to foreign Princes.

D. R.





N^o 235. SATURDAY, Jan. 2, 1730.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



WE have now brought these Remarks on the *English History* not only down to Times little remote from our own ; but to a Period, when the Monarchy settled on a new Foundation ; upon which it still continues and rests more firmly than ever at this Hour. The Observations therefore, which remain to be made, in order to illustrate what hath been advanced, concerning the *Spirit of Liberty* and the *Spirit of Faction*, will for these Reasons be the more apposite, the more affecting, and by Consequence the more useful ; but, for these very Reasons likewise, it is probable that they will become the Occasions of louder Complaints, and of more impertinent Clamour.—We shall be sincerely sorry for This ; because We look on the *Alarm*, which hath been taken at our Endeavours to revive the *Spirit*, and to confirm and propagate the *Doctrines of Liberty*, in a Country, where *Liberty* is still avowed, and under a Government, established on the *Principles of Liberty*,

Liberty, as a most suspicious and melancholly Symptom. But the stronger this Symptom appears, the more incumbent We shall think it upon us to pursue the honest Design, to which We have devoted ourselves with Constancy and Vigour.

The *shameless Crew*, who write against their Country, as they would write against their God, for Hire, shall have little Regard from us. The scandalous Licence, with which They have presumed to draw *odious Parallels*, and the Impudence, with which They have imputed these *Parallels* to us, have been abundantly exposed already. The few, the very few Things, which they have alledged in Point of *Fact*, or *Argument*, have been often answer'd; perhaps too often, considering how little Weight They carried with Them, and how little Impression They were capable of making on the Understanding even of *Those*, who had *other Reasons* for inclining to that Side of the Question. The Ribaldry, which *these Scribblers* employ, hath been and will continue to be despised, not answer'd. It cannot be expected that we should take Notice of every little, frivolous, childish *Declamation*, which appears in publick, however some Persons may demean themselves by pretending to admire them. The *Menaces*, affectedly and insolently thrown out on *one Side*, and the *Flattery*, servilely offer'd on the *other*, are equally Objects of our Contempt; and if We take a little Notice of the *former*, once for all, before We proceed any farther in these *Remarks*, it is purely because We cannot understand them to be the Language of *these Writers*. When They talk in this Style, They speak the Language of HIM, who guides their Pens, and who is known to reward their Labours. To *Him* therefore it may not be improper to address our selves in the following Manner.

“ The *Persons*, whom you threaten, Sir, neither
 “ value your Favour, nor fear your Anger. When-
 “ ever you attempt any *Act of Power* against any of
 “ them, you shall find that you have to do with Men,
 “ who know they have not offended the *Law*; and
 “ therefore trust They have not offended the *King*;
 “ who know They are safe, as long as the *Laws* and
 “ *Liberties* of their Country are so; and who are so
 “ little desirous of being safe any longer, that they
 “ would be the first to bury themselves in the Ruins
 “ of the *British* Constitution, if *You*, or any *M—r*,
 “ as desperate as *You*, should be able to destroy it.
 “ But let us ask, on this Occasion, what *You* are,
 “ who thus presume to threaten? — Are you not
 “ One, whose Measure of *Folly* and *Iniquity* is full;
 “ who can neither hold, nor quit his Power with Im-
 “ punity; and over whose Head the long gathering
 “ Cloud of national Vengeance is ready to burst? —
 “ Is it not Time for *You*, Sir, instead of threatening
 “ to attack *others*, to consider how soon you may be
 “ attacked *yourself*? — How many Crimes may be
 “ charged upon *You* and *Yours*, which almost every
 “ Man can prove; and how many more are ready to
 “ start into Light, as soon as the Power, by which
 “ you now conceal them, shall determine? — When
 “ next you meditate Revenge on your *Adversaries*,
 “ remember this Truth. *The Laws must be de-*
 “ *stroy'd, before They can suffer, or You escape.*

Let us now return to our Subject. — In the early
 Days of our Government, after the *Norman* Invasion,
 the Commons of *England* were rather formidable in
 their *collective*, than considerable in their *representa-*
tive Body; by their *Numbers* in extraordinary Emer-
 gencies, rather than by their *Weight* in the ordinary
 Course of Government. In later Days, they began
 to acquire some of *this Weight* by Degrees. They
 represented *Grievances*; They gave, or refused *Sub-*
sidies;

sidies; and they exercis'd, in a regular, senatorial Manner, the Powers lodged in them by the Constitution; but still they did not obtain the *intire Weight*, till they were wholly emancipated; and they were not so, till the *great Change*, which we are speaking of, happened. Before this Time, they had too much of the Dependency of *Tenants*, and the *King*, the *Nobility* and the *Clergy* had too much of the Superiority of *Landlords*. This Dependency of the *Commons* added to That, which the *Crown* frequently found means of creating, either by influencing their *Elections*, or by corrupting their *Representatives*, (notwithstanding all the *Provisions* made against it, which we have touch'd in a * former Paper) kept this Part of the Legislature in such a State, as made it unable fully to answer the End of its Institution; and the System of our Government was by Consequence, in this Respect, defective.

Could *Henry VII.* have found Means, as he reduced the *Nobility* lower, to have hinder'd the *Commons* from rising higher; could He have opened a Way to the Diminution of the Property of the *Lords*, and have prevented that Increase of the same Property amongst the *Commons*, to which, on the contrary, he gave Occasion, and which Time and Accidents conspired to bring about; the *Ballance* of this Government would have been totally lost, though the *outward Forms* of it had been preserved. Our *Liberty* would have been lost by Consequence; and our *Kings*, with an *House of Lords* and an *House of Commons*, and all the Appearances of *limited Monarchs*, might have been as *arbitrary* as those Princes are, who govern

* See the *Craftsman*, No. 225.

Countries, where no such Constitution prevails. The Reason of This will appear plain to Those, who remember what hath been observed, in some of our former Papers, that *a dependent Exercise of the Powers, lodged in the two Houses of Parliament*, will endanger and may, more effectually than any other Expedient, destroy *Liberty*; and that the Preservation of our Freedom is no Way to be secured but by a *free and independent Exercise of these Powers*. Now *such an Exercise* could not have continued, much less have been improved, if *Henry VII.* had been able, at the same Time, to weaken his *Nobility*, and to keep his *Commons* from acquiring new Strength. But This was impracticable. At least, it was not attempted. *Henry VII.* hasten'd to the Cure of that Evil, which press'd him most, the Power of the *Nobility*, as his *Son* soon afterwards effectually reduced the exorbitant Power of the *Clergy*; and in pulling down these Powers, which, as they were constituted and had been exercised, hurt the *Crown* more than they served the *People*, these Princes became the Instruments of raising *another Power*, which is the best, if not the sole effectual Barrier against Usurpations of illegal and Abuses of legal Prerogatives; and which, at the same Time, can never be apply'd to do any real Hurt to the *Crown*, unless in Cases where it is bent and forced to do this Hurt by the *Crown* it self, in the first Place, against the natural Tendency and Direction of it.

This Increase of the Property of the *Commons*, by taking off from them a *constant Dependency* of one Sort, and by rendering them less obnoxious to an *occasional Dependency* of another, gave greater Dignity, and added greater Weight, in the Ballance of Government, to their *representative Body*. The *House of Commons* became more powerful, without the Attribution of any *new Powers*, and purely by the different Manner, in which their *Independency*, the Effect
of

of their *Property*, enabled them to exercise the *same Powers*, which they enjoyed before. A Concert with a *few great Lords*, and a *few leading Prelates* was now no longer sufficient to guide the Sense of *Parliament*, and to establish the Measures of *Government*; no, not even in Cases, where this Concert might be extended to some of the *Commons* Themselves. Intrigue and Cabal became unnecessary, when the *national Interest* was wisely pursued; and ineffectual, when it was not. The Way was open to gain the *Parliament*, by gaining the *Nation*; but to impose on the *Nation*, by gaining the *Parliament* was hard; for the *Weight without Doors* determin'd, in those Days, the *Weight within*. The same Causes, which render'd the *House of Commons* more considerable to the *Court*, to the *Nobility*, to the *Clergy*, to the *Commons* themselves, render'd likewise the whole Body of the *Commons* of more Importance to *Those*, who were chosen to represent them. Besides which, the Frequency of *new Elections*, which was deemed an Advantage, as long as the Service was deemed an honourable Burthen, gave the Nation frequent Opportunities of modelling the *representative Body*, according to the Interests and Inclinations of the *collective Body*. From hence it follow'd, that that Credit and Influence in the *Nation*, which can only be acquired and preserved by adhering to the *national Interest*, became the sole Means of maintaining a lasting Credit and Influence in the *House of Commons*; upon which the Harmony of Government, and the Happiness of *Prince* and *People* depended more than ever.

Thus were we brought back, in Times very distant and in Circumstances very different, to the *Principles of Government*, which had prevailed amongst our *Saxon Ancestors*, before they left *Germany*. Whatever particular Preeminences, or Powers, were vested in the *principal Men*, the great Affairs of State were directed

ed by the *whole Body of the Nation*. — *De minoribus Principes, de majoribus omnes.*

Such were the natural Effects of this *new Settlement*; and thus our *limited Monarchy* became capable of as much Perfection, as Wisdom and favourable Accidents can communicate to any human Institution; for can We raise our Ideas of this Kind of Perfection higher than ordering the Distribution of *Property* and *Power* in such a Manner, that the Privileges of the *People* and the Prerogative of the *Crown* cannot be taken away, unless with their *own Consent*, or by their *own Fault*? Now to this Point of Perfection was the Constitution of our Government brought, and farther it could not be brought; because it is impossible to secure either *Prince*, or *People* against *Themselves*, or against the Effects of their *own Conduct*.

One Part of what hath been said upon this Subject will not, I think, be disputed. The *other*, perhaps, may seem a Paradox; and a Settlement, which render'd our Government more *democratical*, will not be readily allowed to have been advantageous to the *Crown*, though it must be allowed to have been so to the *People*. — Let us examine therefore whether it was really so, or not.

In all *limited Monarchies*, and we are not speaking of any other, the Power of preserving *these Limitations* must be plac'd somewhere. The Question therefore is, whether it can be plac'd more advantageously, even for the *Crown* as well as the *People*, than in the *whole Body of the Nation*.

Whilst the *Commons* had not *Property* enough to have any Share in *this Power*, the sole Check, which could be oppos'd to the Incroachments of the *Crown*, was the Power of the *Barons* and of the *Clergy*. But these two Orders of Men had their particular Interests, frequently opposite to *each other* and to Those of the *People*, as well as to Those of the *Crown*; so
that

that they were not only very incapable of forming a secure Barrier to *Liberty*, but their Power became terrible and dangerous to the *Crown* it self. They slid easily into *Faction*. They often incroached on the *Prince's* Authority, whilst They resisted his Incroachments, real or pretended, on their own Privileges ; and under the plausible Veil of *Law*, or *Gospel*, private Ambition had a greater Share than publick Liberty in their Contests. It is true that, during these Contests, *magna Charta* was signed and confirmed ; and the Condition of the People, in Point of *Liberty*, very much improved. But This was the accidental Effect of the Contests between the *Kings*, the *Barons* and the *Clergy*, as We have remark'd in speaking of those Times, and not the natural Effect of the *Property* and *Power*, lodged in the *Barons* and the *Clergy*. The *Commons* were courted by all Sides, because they were wanted by all. Had they been Bubbles enough to look on the *Nobility* and *Clergy* as the proper Guardians of *Liberty*, and to have adhered to Them accordingly, they might indeed have avoided being Slaves to their *Kings*, but they would have render'd both their *Kings* and *Themselves* little less than Slaves to their *temporal* and *spiritual* Lords.

After the Reigns of *Edward I.* and *Edward III.* *Power* came to be better poized, and our Government took a more regular Form. The Prerogatives of our *Kings*, and the Privileges of our *Nobility*, the Authority and Immunity of the *Church*, and the Rights of the *People* were more ascertain'd ; and yet, after this Time, the same Observations will hold good in a very great Degree. It is certain that the vast over-Ballance of *Property* and *Power*, which still continued in the *Nobility* and *Clergy*, instead of preventing, softening, or shortening the Calamities, which followed, help'd to form and maintain those *Factions*,
which

which began, renewed, fomented the civil Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, as well as the wicked Conduct of *Richard II.* and the weak Conduct of *Henry VI.* Redress of Grievances and sufficient Security against them for the future might have satisfied the *People*, if They had been left to Themselves; but nothing less than Revolutions of Government could satisfy the *Factions*, into which the great Men were divided, and into which They divided the Nation, by their Influence over the *People*, and by the Advantages, which the ill Conduct of the *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians* gave to each other.

Thus We see how unsafely for the *Crown*, as well as insecurely for the *People*, that *Property* and *Power*, which is necessary to preserve the *Limitations* of our Monarchy, was placed before the Time, when that great Change in the one and the other happened, which makes the Subject of this Discourse. But as soon as this Change did happen, the *Crown* was no longer expos'd to the same Mischiefs.

When the little Power, which *Henry IV.* of *France* had in the Town of *Rochelle*, was objected to Him, He made an Answer worthy of his heroick Spirit. *I do*, said He, *all I desire to do there, in doing nothing but what I ought.*—This Moderation of Temper is, in all Governments, the best and, in limited Monarchies, the only sure and durable Foundation of Power. By preventing Jealousy in the *People* of the *Prince*, it takes away all Advantage against his Government from *Faction*; and the more watchful the *People* are over their *Liberties*, the more sensible will they be of this Moderation, and the more grateful for it. *Faction* proceeds always without Reason; but it can hardly ever succeed without Pretence, and sufficient Pretence will hardly be found under such a Government.

When

When a Prince, who manifests this *Moderation* of Temper, pursues the true Interest of his *People*, and suffers no *other Interest* to come into any Degree of Competition with it, far from being the Object of their *Jealousy*, he will be the principal Object of their *Affection*; and if he joins to this Character of *Goodness* That of *Ability*, He will be the principal Object of their *Confidence* likewise. These are the strongest Chains, by which a *People* can be bound to their *Prince*; easier indeed, but far stronger than Those of *Adamant*, by which *Dionysius* the elder boasted that He had secured the Tyranny of *Syracuse* to his Son; *Force, Fear, a Multitude of Troops, and a Guard of ten thousand Barbarians*—A Prince, who establishes his Government on the Principles of *Affection*, hath every Thing to hope and nothing to fear from his People. A Prince, who establishes his Government on any *other Principles*, acts in Contradiction to the very End of his Institution. What Objection therefore could be made, even on the Part of the *Crown*, to a Settlement of *Property* and *Power*, which put the Guardianship of *Liberty* into such Hands as never did, nor ever will invade the Prerogative and Authority of the *Crown*, whilst they are employed to those Purposes, for which alone they were intrusted? It is confess'd that if a Prince should attempt to establish his Government on any *other Principle* than These; if He should chuse to depend rather on *deceiving, corrupting, or forcing* his People, than on gaining their *Affection* and *Confidence*; He might feel the Weight of their *Property* and *Power* very heavy in the Scale against Him. But then it must be confess'd likewise that, in such a Case, this Opposition of the *People* would be just; and that the *Prince*, not the *People*, would be answerable to Himself and his Family, to God and to Man, for all the ill Consequences, which might follow.

We hope that We have said nothing, in order to shew the Excellency of our *Constitution*, as it settled about the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, which is not agreeable to Reason; and sure We are that the Truth of these general Propositions will be confirmed by the particular Examples, which are to follow.—The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* will be one continued Proof that the Power of preserving the *Limitations* of a Monarchy cannot be placed better, for a good and wise Prince, than in the whole Body of the People; and that the *Spirit of Liberty* will give greater Strength, as well as procure greater Ease, to the Government of such a Prince, than any absolute Monarch can hope to find in the most abject Spirit, which Principles of blind Submission and passive Obedience are capable of inspiring.—The Reigns, immediately succeeding *This*, will be one continued Proof, that whenever the Power of the People hath been exercis'd against the Crown, it hath been owing primarily to the weak Management and Obstinacy of the Court, and to the unhappy Choice, which those Princes made of governing by *Factions*, in Opposition to the Sense and Interest of the Nation. From whence it will follow that the great Calamities, which beset our Country, in the middle of the last Century, are unjustly charged on the *Spirit of Liberty*, or on the Nature of the British Constitution of Government. O.



P O S T S C R I P T.

LETTERS from *Ireland* confirm our former Advices that the *French Officers*, who came to raise Recruits in that Kingdom, with the Appearance of no small Confidence of Support and Success in that Service, are return'd to *France* without any Men, very much chagrin'd at being disappointed of

of the Encouragement, which They were *promised*, or *expected*.

Our *extraordinary Paper*, upon this Subject, seem'd to strike the *pensionary Writers* dumb. At least, They continued silent above a Fortnight ; but at last They have thought fit to resume the Dispute, when it can be of no Use ; for the End of our writing is fully answer'd ; and it is unnecessary to trouble the Publick any farther on that Head. We shall therefore leave it to *Those*, who may think Themselves concerned to justify the honest and laudable Intention of adding such a Security to the *Protestant Succession*, to write on without Contradiction.

As nobody can think that *these Officers* made such a wild Attempt without some Assurances of a more favourable Reception ; so We have Reason to believe that his Majesty's own wise and unshaken Resolution had crush'd this *pernicious Project*, before our Thoughts were published ; but as We could not be sensible of This, and as the Design of our writing proceeded from an inflexible Zeal for the Interest of his *illustrious Family* ; so We are not a little proud in finding our Reasonings, upon this Head, confirm'd by the *royal Opinion* ; which, it is to be hoped, will check the Presumption and Insolence of *Those*, who first gave Countenance to such a *Project*, and make Them somewhat more cautious, for the future, of engaging in *little, momentary Expedients*, to support Themselves, at the Expence of the *King* and the *Kingdom*.

This Instance of his Majesty's tender Concern for our future Quiet and Security, at home, gives us the strongest Assurances of the Advantages, which We may justly expect from his superior Knowledge to *some Men* about Him ; and We may promise ourselves that the true Interests of these Kingdoms will be settled upon the most solid Foundation, when the *royal Judgment* exerts itself indepen-

dently of the weak, or corrupt Views and Advices
of *others*.

D.



N^o 236. SATURDAY, *Jan. 9, 1730.*

REMARKS *on the History of England continued.*

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



HERE is no Part of our Annals, nor perhaps of the Annals of any other Country, which deserves to be more studied, or to be oftner called to Remembrance both by Those, who govern, and by Those, who are govern'd, than the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. We shall not however descend into all the Observations, which it affords; nor even into all Those, which might properly serve to our present Purpose.

In some former * Papers We made a few Remarks on *this Reign*, and on That of King *James the first*. We apprehend that the Contraste between Them appeared very strong on that Occasion. This Contraste will probably appear still much stronger, and by Consequence be the more instructive, when *those Remarks* and *These* We are going to make come to center in one single Point; to shew that the Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, under great Disadvantages, produced all the good Effects, which *Prince*, or *People* could de-

* See the Craftsman, N^o 137, 138, 139.

fire; because it was wisely suited to the Nature of our *Government*; whereas the Conduct of King *James the first*, who had many and great Advantages, which his Predecessor wanted, made his Reign grievous to the *People*, uneasy to *Himself*, and accessory to those Misfortunes, which beset his *Son*; because it was ill-suited to the Nature of our *Government*, and founded on Principles destructive of *Liberty*.

Few Princes (no, not even her Cotemporary, *Henry the fourth of France*) have been ever raised to a Throne under more disadvantageous Circumstances, or have been surrounded in it with more complicated Difficulties than Queen *Elizabeth*.—Let us take a general Survey of them.

The Division and Animosity of *Parties* had been carried to the Height of religious Rage. The Cruelty of Queen *Mary's* Reign, in which much *protestant Blood* had been shed, and even That of her *Sister* with Difficulty spared, render'd of course the *persecuting Side* more desperate, and the *other* more exasperated. It is hard to imagine that Queen *Elizabeth* had been able to cultivate many personal Attachments to herself, before she came to the Crown; except That of Sir *William Cecil*, afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, and perhaps one or two more. Her imprisonment for a Time, and the great Constraint, under which she liv'd, during her *Sister's* whole Reign, gave her little Opportunity for it; and the jealous Eye, with which *Gardiner* and other ecclesiastical Zealots observed her Conduct, made it dangerous to attempt it.

In general, the *Protestants* desired her Succession; and the *Papists* fear'd it. But the *former* were under Oppression, and even a Kind of Proscription. The *latter* had the whole Authority of the *Church* and the *State* in their Hands, in *this Kingdom*; and That of *Ireland*, bigotted to Popery and prone to Rebellion, was at their Devotion.—The *Protestants* themselves

were divided; and Those, who meant equally a *Reformation*, fell into the utmost Asperity against each other, concerning the *Manner* of making it, and the *Point*, to which it ought to be carried, on account of *Religion* as well as of *Policy*.

In this divided State and in the Ferment, which such Divisions must necessarily cause, Queen *Elizabeth* found the People, whom she came to govern Surely, a more nice and perilous State can hardly be imagin'd; especially for Her, who was led by Inclination and determined by particular Circumstances of Interest to establish the *Reformation*; that is, to declare for the *weakest*, though not the *least numerous Party*.

It is observed (I think by *Nathaniel Bacon* in his *historical and political Discourses*) that the Methods taken by *Henry VII.* to accumulate Treasure, made a *rich King* indeed, but did not enrich the *Crown*. His Son had several Opportunities of doing both; instead of which He impoverish'd *Himself*, the *Crown*, and the *People*, by all the Methods, which the most wanton Profusion could invent. He exhausted the Wealth of the Nation. He did more. He debased the *Coin*, by mingling it with Copper, and loaded the Publick with Debts. These again were considerably increased in the Reign of *Edward VI.* Queen *Mary* was so far from diminishing them, that one of the principal Complaints against her Administration, next to the Cruelty she exercis'd, was the great Dissipation of the *Revenue*, occasion'd by her Restitutions to the *Church*, and by her new Foundations of *Monasteries*. — In this low, incumber'd State Queen *Elizabeth* found the Revenues of the *Crown*, and the Wealth of the *Nation*.

Her Situation *abroad* was still worse than her Situation *at home*. *Calais*, and the other *English Possessions* in *Picardy*, had been lost in a Quarrel, where the Interest of *England* had no Concern. For the

Sake of *Spain*, We had War with *France*. The War with *Scotland* still continued; and Queen *Elizabeth* had no one *Ally*, on whose Assistance she could depend.

Such distress'd Situations are rare; and when They have happen'd, They have been often render'd less difficult in Reality, than in Appearance, by some particular Circumstances, which have attended them. But when *Elizabeth* began her Reign, no such Circumstances existed in her Favour. On the contrary, almost every Circumstance aggravated her Distress. The Thrones of *France* and *Spain* were fill'd neither by *old Men*, worn out with Age and Cares; nor by *weak Men*, unequal to their Rank and Business; nor by *Children*, under the Tuition of Regents. *Henry II.* reigned in *France*; *Philip II.* in *Spain*; Princes, in the Vigour of their Age; of great Ambition; of great Talents; and seconded by the ablest *Ministers* and *Generals* in *Europe*. The *French* Monarchy had been growing up, from the Time of *Louis XI.* towards that Fulness of Power and Affluence of Wealth, at which the *Spanish* Monarchy was already arrived. Both these Princes were, by Bigotry and by Policy, attach'd to the Court of *Rome*; implacable Enemies to the *Reformation*; and such by Consequence to Queen *Elizabeth*. *Henry II.* had a farther Reason for being so. He grasp'd, in his ambitious Views, the Crown of *England*, as well as That of *Scotland*; and look'd on Queen *Elizabeth* as the Usurper of a Right, belonging to his *Daughter in Law*. *Philip*, indeed, kept some faint and affected Measures with *Elizabeth*, as long as He apprehended the Union of so many Crowns in the House of *Valois*; but this Apprehension was soon at an end; and even his Shews of Friendship with it. *Henry II.* and his eldest Son, *Francis II.* died in about two Years. The Deaths of these Princes did, perhaps, diminish the

Difficulties and Dangers, to which Queen *Elizabeth* stood exposed on *one Hand*; but then They increased these Difficulties and Dangers on the *other*; since she took off all Restraint from *Philip* in pursuit of his Enterprizes against her. His Life lasted almost as long as Hers, and his inveterate Enmity as long as his Life.

Another Source, from which Difficulties and Dangers were incessantly arising to Queen *Elizabeth*, lay in the Objections, which the *Papists* made to her Title on a Principle of *Religion*; and which were but too really, though indirectly, abetted by some *Protestants*, on a Principle of *Faction*—whilst Disputes about the Succession to the Crown were confined to *England*, and turn'd on Maxims of our own Growth, if I may use that Expression, We have seen how little Regard was paid to the *Titles*, and to the *pretended divine, indefeazable Right of Princes*. But when *foreign Nations* came to be interested in the Succession of our Crown, They reason'd and They proceeded on *other Nations*; not on *Those*, which both *Custom* and *Law* had established here.

The Attacks, of this Kind, made on Queen *Elizabeth*, were the more grievous to Her, because They not only united the *Roman-Catholick Powers* against her; but they made the Divisions wider and more irreconcilable *at home*; where she placed the chief Strength and Security of her Government.

Mary, Queen of *Scotland*, was a *Pretender*, neither abjured in *England*, nor disavowed and unsupported in other Countries. Sovereign of *one Part* of the Island, she had a powerful Party in the *other*; Wife of the *Dauphin*, and after That Queen of *France*; encouraged and assisted by her *Uncles*, who possess'd more than regal Power in that Kingdom; by *Spain*, and by the whole Popish Interest; she was justly formidable to Queen *Elizabeth*, as long as she lived.—

Another Circumstance made Her so still more. The Success of the *Reformation* seem'd to increase the Zeal of Those, who continued in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. The Influence of the Court of *Rome* became consequently stronger at this Point of Time. It appeared both in *France* and in *England* too as powerful, though not as successful, here at least, as it had appear'd in the eleventh Century, in the Days of the brave, but unfortunate Emperor, *Henry IV.* and of that insolent Fryar, *Gregory VII.*—Even this Circumstance may justly seem to have been enforced by another; by the Establishment of the Order of *Jesuits*. This Order, the Off-spring of a mad *Spaniard*, has had the principal Honour, though other religious Orders have endeavoured to share it, of giving to the *Pope* an Authority like That, which was exercised by the *King of the Assassins*, or the *old Man of the Mountain*, as He is call'd by some of the *French* Historians; an Authority, which proved fatal to *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* of *France*; and which had like to have proved so to *Queen Elizabeth* and even to her *Successor*.

Such were the Difficulties and Dangers, which encompass'd this Princess. The Situation of *England*, in her Time, resembled That of a Town powerfully besieged *without*, and exposed to Treachery and Sedition *within*. That a Town, in such Circumstances, should defend itself, and even force the Enemy, by its own Strength, to raise the Siege, hardly falls within the Bounds of Probability. But that all This should happen, and the Inhabitants feel none of the Inconveniencies of a long and obstinate Siege; nay, that They should grow opulent, during the Continuance of it, and find themselves at last better able to offend the Enemy than They were at first to defend their Walls, seems an Adventure of some extravagant Romance. But it conveys a true Image of this Reign.

—Unally'd

—Unall'y'd and alone, Queen *Elizabeth* maintained a glorious and successful War against the greatest Power and the richest Potentate in *Europe*. She distress'd him in the *West Indies*. She insulted him in *Spain*. She took from him the *Empire of the Sea*. She fix'd it in Herself. She render'd all the Projects of universal Monarchy vain; and shook to the Foundations the most exorbitant Power, which ever disturb'd the Peace, or threatned the Liberties of *Europe*. She supported the oppress'd People of the *Netherlands*, against the Tyranny of their Prince. She supported the protestant Subjects of *France*, against *Catherine of Medicis* and her Sons, those execrable Butchers of their People. She supported the Kings of *France*, *Henry III* and *IV*. against the Ambition of the Princes of the House of *Lorraine*, and the rebellious League of their *Papish* Subjects. She, who seemed to have every Thing to fear in the Beginning of her Reign, became in the Progress of it terrible to her Enemies. The *Pretender to her Crown* lost her own. The *English*, who appeared at first so favourable to the Queen of *Scotland*, became at last as desirous to sacrifice the Life of that unfortunate Princess to the Security of Queen *Elizabeth*. Whilst War, Confusion, and the Miseries, which attend Them, raged in the Dominions of Those, who bent their Aim at the Disturbance of her Government; she preserved her Subjects in Peace and in Plenty. Whilst the Glory of the Nation was carried high by Atchievements in *War*; the Riches and the Strength of it were raised by the Arts of *Peace* to such a Degree, as former Ages had never seen, and as We of this Age feel in the Consequences.—Well therefore might my Lord *Bacon*, speaking of Queen *Elizabeth*, say, * as for her Go-

* *Advancement of Learning*, Lib. I.

vernment, I assure myself I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this Part of the Island never had forty-five Years of better Times; and yet not through the Calmness of the Season, but through the Wisdom of her Regiment.

Having made these Remarks on the *Difficulties* and on the *Success*, which attended Queen *Elizabeth*; it is Time to consider the *Cause*, which produced the stupendous Effects of her Reign. Now this *Cause* is, I think, very plain. She was wise enough to see clearly into the Nature of that Government, at the Head of which she was plac'd; and to know that † *the supreme Head of such a Government owes a supreme Service to the whole*. She was wise enough to know that, to be *powerful*, she must either *usurp* on her People; *deceive* Them; or *gain* Them. The two *first*, she saw, were hard, dangerous and dishonourable. The *last*, she saw, was easy, safe and glorious. Her Head and her Heart concurred to determine her Choice. She made Herself very soon the most popular Person in the Kingdom. In her Reign, the Sense of the *Court*, the Sense of the *Parliament* and the Sense of the *People* were the same; and whenever she exerted her own Strength, she exerted the whole Strength of the Nation. Nothing she ask'd was ever refused by *Parliament*; because she ask'd nothing, which would have been refused by the *People*. She threw Herself so intirely on the *Affections* of her Subjects, that she seem'd to decline all other Tenure of the Crown: At least, she was not very solicitous about clearing her Title to it by *Descent*. An *Act*, declaring her Right according to the Order of Succession settled in *Parliament* 35 Hen. VIII. contented Her; and she neglected the Precaution, which her *Sister* had

† See Nath. Bacon's *hist. and pol. Disc.*

taken, in getting the *Act*, which excluded them both from the Crown, repealed as far as it related to *Herself*. The particular Reasons of her Conduct, in this Case, might perhaps be guess'd at with more Probability than They have been; but certainly one general Reason outweigh'd them all in the Mind of this heroical Princess. She knew that however the Subtlety of *Lawyers* and *political Casuists* might influence *Opinions*, nothing but her *own Conduct* could give her the *Hearts* of her People. *These* she deem'd her great Security. *These* she acquired; and the little Glosses, which might have been put on her *Title*, she despis'd. The being *not only ty'd, but knit to her People* was her Aim; and she pursued this great Point of View, on all Occasions; the least, as well as the greatest; and even on Those, where she thought it necessary to *refuse*, or to *reprimand*. Nature, as well as Art, fitted Her for this Conduct. She had Dignity without Pride. She was affable, without sinking into low Familiarity; and when she courted her People, she courted Them like a Queen. This *Popularity* was sometimes carried so far, both in her Manners, and in her Expressions, that her Enemies have endeavour'd to make it pass for gross and fulsome Affectation; and for such, indeed, it ought to have pass'd, if it had gone alone. It might have shock'd, instead of alluring, if it had not been seconded by every Action of her Life, and contradicted by none. — Let us now consider therefore, in some Instances, what that Conduct was, which convinced her People so intirely of her *Goodness* and her *Wisdom*; and which procur'd her such large Returns of *Gratitude*, of *Duty*, of *Affection* and *Zeal*.

O.

*The C L O A K.**A T A L E.*

DE A R *Caleb*, what the Devil ails ye ?
Surely your Understanding fails ye ;
Fretting eternally and railing ;
Not the least Symptom of prevailing ;
Be wise ; attend to what I say ;
Let every Dog enjoy his Day ;
For should you happen This to chafe,
Another Dog will have his Place.
I judge you read, as well as write ;
We had a Story t'other Night,
And whether it be new or old.
The Papers thus the Story told.

The Night was dark, the Wind was keen ;
(The Wind that gives us all the Spleen)
When one discreet, took Care of one,
And on his Back the *Cloak* was thrown ;
The *Cloak* was on a sudden gone ;
A Rascal took it ; soon 'twas dropt,
In Danger He of being stopt ;
Another, ('twas a merry Varlet)
Took up and brought again the Scarlet.
The Gentleman presents the Fee,
A *Crown*, and glad at Heart was He.
In humble Guise the Villain spoke,
Good Sir, let me help on the Cloak.

Con-

Consent obtain'd, not only That,
The *Crown*, the *Periwigg* and *Hat*
Were carried off ; You'll ask me why
I thus *this Accident* apply ?
My Answer ready is, dear Sir ;
You cavil at our *Minister*.
He takes the *Cloak* ; but if you chuse
Another, you may chance to lose
Not the *Cloak* only ; *Hat* and *Wig*
And *Crown* may dance just such a Jig.—
Says *Caleb*, with contracted Brow,
Why pr'ythee what is doing now ?

O.



N^o 237. SATURDAY, *January* 16, 17³⁰/₃₁.*Remarks on the History of England continued.**From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.*

First and essential Condition, towards obtaining the Love and Confidence of a *free People*, is to be neither *fear'd*, nor *despis'd* by them. Queen *Elizabeth* was, at no Time, in any Danger of the *latter*; and she soon put Herself above all the Suspensions, which might have exposed Her to the *former*. The only Difference between Her and her Parliament, which carried any Passion or Unkindness with it, happen'd in the ninth Year of her Reign. It was founded on the Apprehensions of the Dangers, which would arise after her Death, if the Succession was not fixed during her Life. But We do not find the least Insinuation of any Jealousy of her Government; though the Heat of *both Houses*, at that Moment, was too great to have conceal'd any Uneasiness, which had lain at their Hearts. That she was fond enough of her *Prerogative* is certain; but then she took Care that it should never be grievous; or that if it was so, on some Occasions, to particular Persons; it should appear, by the Occasions themselves, and by the Manner of exercising it, specious to the Publick.—The *Prerogative* certainly run high in those Days. Her Grandfather had raised it by Cunning, and her Father by Violence. The Power of the *Privy Council* in civil Affairs, and the

censorian Power of the *Star-Chamber* in criminal Affairs, as my Lord *Bacon* very properly styles it, took too much of the *Pleas of the Crown* and of the *common Pleas* out of their proper Channels, and * *served rather to scare Men from doing Wrong, than to do any Man right.*—But the Exercise of *these Powers* having continued in four preceeding Reigns, the People were accusom'd to it; and Care being taken to give no flagrant Occasion of Clamour against it, We are not to wonder if it was borne, without Opposition or Murmur, in a Reign as *popular* as This.

The *High-Commission Court*, that We may quote another Instance, had no doubt very extraordinary Powers. The *Bishops*, who held the principal Sway in it, exercised by these Means two very great Authorities at the same Time; *one*, as Ordinaries in their *Dioceses*; the *other*, as Judges in *this Court*; so that they might *fine* and *imprison*; as well as *excommunicate* and *deprive*. Now, it is not very probable that the *Parliament*, who thought the *first* of these Powers too much (as may be seen by the Attempts made against it, in the 28th Year of this Reign) were very well pleased to see the *second* in the same Hands. However, the Steadiness of the *Queen*, in maintaining this Part of the *Prerogative*, which had been given Her, was the less unpopular, on Account of the unsettled State of *Religion* at this Time; of the great Moderation of the *Bishops* in these early Days of the *Reformation*; and of the prudent Manner, in which the Jurisdiction of the *High-Commission Court* was executed.

The Effects of a *bare-fac'd Prerogative* are not the most dangerous to *Liberty*, for this Reason; because They are open; because the Alarm They give is commonly greater than the Progress They make; and whilst a particular Man or two are crushed by Them,

* *Bac. Hist. and Pol. Disc.*

a whole Nation is put on its Guard.—The most dangerous Attacks on *Liberty* are Those, which surprize, or *undermine*; which are owing to *Powers*, given under Pretence of some *urgent Necessity*; to *Powers*, popular and reasonable, perhaps, at first; but such as ought not to become settled and confirmed by a *long Exercise*; and yet are render'd *perpetual* by Art and Management; and, in a great Degree, by the Nature of *these Powers* themselves. Examples, of this Kind, might be produced from the *Spanish* and other Histories. But Queen *Elizabeth* was far from setting any such Examples. She shew'd her *Moderation*, in desiring no *suspicious Powers*, as well as in the Exercise of her *Prerogative*; and *this Moderation* was the more remarkable, because no Prince ever had the Pretence of *Necessity* to urge on stronger Appearances. Her whole Reign may be almost call'd a State of *defensive* and *offensive War*; in *England*, as well as in *Ireland*; in the *Indies*, as well as in *Europe*. She ventured to go through this State, if it was a Venture, without the Help of a *standing Army*. The People of *England* had seen none, from the Days of *Richard II.* and this *cautious Queen* might perhaps imagine, that the Example of his Reign and Those of other Countries, where *standing Armies* were establish'd, would beget Jealousies in the Minds of her People and diminish that *Affection*, which she esteem'd and found to be the greatest Security of her Person, and the greatest Strength of her Government. Whenever she wanted Troops, her Subjects flocked to her Standard; and her Reign affords most illustrious Proofs, that all the Ends of Security, and of Glory too, may be answered in this Island, without the Charge and Danger of the *Expedient* just mentioned.

This Assertion will not be contradicted by Those, who recollect in how many Places, and on how many Occasions, her Forces fought and conquer'd the best

ciplin'd veteran Troops in *Europe*. Other Examples might be brought to shew how careful Queen *Elizabeth* was to avoid every Thing, which might give the least Umbrage to her People. But we have said enough on this Head. Let us proceed to another.

The Conduct she held, with Respect to *Parties*, deserves to be remarked ; because the Moderation, the Wisdom, and the Equity, which she shewed in it, contributed very much to cool the Ferment in the Beginning of her Reign ; by which she had Time to captivate the good Will of her People ; to settle her Government ; to establish her Authority ; and even to change the national Religion, with little Contradiction and without any Disturbance.

Notwithstanding all the Indignities she had suffered, and all the Dangers she had run, before her Accession, several Persons were restored, and not a Man was attainted in her first Parliament. The Steps I have mentioned being once made, she stood on firmer Ground, and had less to fear from the *Spirit of Faction*. This Clemency, once shewn, she could, more safely and with greater Reason, exercise Severity, when the Preservation of the publick Peace made it necessary.

The Peace of the Kingdom was the Standard, to which she proportioned her Conduct. She was far from casting herself with Precipitation and Violence even into *that Party*, which she favour'd ; and on which alone she resolved to depend. She was far from inflaming their Spirits against the *adverse Party* ; and farther still from pushing any Sort of Men, *Puritans*, or even *Papists*, into Despair ; or provoking them to deserve Punishment, that she might have a Pretence to inflict it. She pursued her own Scheme steadily ; but She pursued it gradually ; and accompanied it with all the artful Circumstances, which could soften the Minds of Men, and induce Those, who were the most averse to her Measures, to bear them,

them, at least, patiently. On these Principles she proceeded, in the whole Course of her Reign.

To the *Papists* she used great Lenity ; till the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion, and other Attempts, consequent upon it, obliged Her to procure new Laws, and execute more Rigour. Yet even then she distinguished * *Papists in Conscience from Papists in Faction*. She made the same Distinction with Regard to the *Puritans*. *Their Zeal was not condemned ; only their Violence was sometimes censured ;* till they attempted to set up their own Discipline, in Opposition to That, which had been established by national Authority ; till their Motives appeared to be *no more Zeal, no more Conscience*, says Secretary *Walsingham*, *but meer Faction and Division*.

Thus cautious, and steady was the Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth* towards *Parties* ; steady to the Principle, and therefore varied in the Application, as the Behaviour of *Parties* towards her Government varied ; not as *Success abroad*, or the *Change of Servants at home*, might have influenc'd That of a Prince of inferior Abilities. What has been said relates to *Parties in the Nation* ; for as to *Parties at Court*, the Conduct of this Queen, tho' directed to the same general End, seems to have been different. In the Nation she chose *one Party*. She rendered the System of *that Party* the System of the *Whole*. By this Establishment, the *other Parties* became so many *Factions* ; and by the Conduct we have described, she defeated and disarmed these *Factions*. At *Court*, she countenanced and perhaps fomented the *Parties*, which different Characters, and different Interests created. But however That was, she found Means to attach them all to Herself ; and she found this Benefit by keeping her Ear open to Them all, that the Truth could not be conceal'd from Her by the most powerful of her

* *Walsingham's Letter.*

Ministers; as We have explained in a former Paper, upon this Subject. On her Accession to the Throne, she retain'd thirteen of her Sister's Counsellors, and ballanc'd them by no more than eight of her own Religion. On *Those, as well as on all others, which she afterwards admitted into the Ministry, says Camden, she bestowed her Favours with so much Caution, and so little Distinction, as to prevent either Party from gaining the Ascendent over her; whereby she remained Mistress of her Self, and preserved both their Affections and her own Power and Authority intire.*

The Favours, by which she distinguished the Earls of *Leicester* and *Essex*, are not Exceptions, in the Course of so long a Reign, sufficient to destroy the Truth of this general Observation. Besides, both these Lords felt the Weight of her Displeasure, (nay, one of them, the Rigour of her Justice,) when they presumed too much on her Favour, and swerved from their Duty. The singular Confidence, which she plac'd in *Cecil* and some others of her *Ministers*, cannot be quoted in Opposition to it; for if she distinguished them, it was rather by the Labours, than the Favours she heaped on them. She supported them indeed against their Enemies; but then the Merit of *these Men* was far from being problematical. Their Works testified daily for them, in bold and well-concerted Enterprizes; in wise, and well-conducted Negotiations. The *People* reaped the Benefit of their Services, as well as the *Prince*. They were justified in the *Nation*, as well as supported at *Court*. In short, by this Discernment of Spirits, by this skilful Management of *Parties*, without the Help of *military Force*, unless in actual Rebellions, *Queen Elizabeth* preserved her People in Tranquility; though there pass'd not an Hour in her whole Reign, without some Intrigue against her Life, and the publick Peace.

This *Moderation*, in assuming and exercising Power, might have been illustrated more, and evinced against all the little Cavils made, and to be made, if we had not avoided too great Prolixity. But it is Time to hasten to the Consideration of some other Parts of her Conduct.

Queen *Elizabeth* was accused of *Avarice* by her Enemies; and perhaps she was so by some of her Friends. Among that hungry Crew, which attends all Courts for the *Loaves and the Fishes*, she could not escape this Charge. But surely, the Nation had Reason to applaud her Frugality. Her *Grandfather* hoarded up Riches. Her *Father* dissipated them. The Consequence under both these Princes was, that every slight Occasion became a sufficient Pretence to ask for *Subsidies*; nay, they were asked and granted too, when even the slightest Occasion did not exist. They were asked by *Henry VII.* for Wars, which he never intended to make; and by *Henry VIII.* for resisting *Invasions*, which were never design'd against Him. Thus was the Nation equally oppress'd by the *Avarice* of One, and by the *Profusion* of the Other.

But *Q. Elizabeth* neither hoarded up, nor lavished away; and it is justly to be questioned whether any Example of a prudent OEconomy in private Life can be produced equal to That, which she practiced in the whole Management of her Affairs. The famous BURLEIGH used to say, that *He never cared to see the Treasury swell like a disorder'd Spleen, when the other Parts of the Commonwealth were in a Consumption*; and his Mistress thought that *Money, in the Pockets of her Subjects, was better placed than in her own Exchequer*. Surely, these Maxims were wise, as well as popular. If a Prince amasses Wealth, to hoard it up like *Henry VII.* it is useless to Himself, and lost to the Publick. If He squanders it away, like *Henry VIII.* He will enrich particular Men, and impoverish

rish the State. But whilst these Treasures remain in the Purse of the Subject, they circulate in Commerce; they increase the common Stock; and they increase by Consequence the Riches of a Prince like Queen *Elizabeth*; for to such a Prince this Purse will be always open.

As immense as the Expences were, which she found Herself obliged to make from the Moment she ascended the Throne, she received nothing in *Taxes* from her People till the sixth Year of her Reign. The *Taxes*, then given, were given by Way of *Re-tribution*; which was generally the Method in her Time. In *former Reigns*, the People granted Aids, not without a general Communication at least of the Uses, to which they were to be applied; but often without a sufficient Assurance that they should be so applied. In *this Reign* that Method of Proceeding was inverted.

The Prince in the World, who deserved to be trusted the most, desired to be so the least. The Aids, which she had from her People, were not so properly *Grants*, as *Reimbursements* of Money, advanced for national Services.—And what Services? *For establishing the Protestant Religion; for defending England; for rescuing Scotland; for carrying on a successful War against an opulent and potent Enemy; for assisting the Subjects and even the Kings of France; for supporting the People of the Netherlands; for refining the debased Coin; for paying all the Debts and restoring the Credit of the Crown; for providing Ammunition at home, which before this Time we had been always obliged to purchase abroad; for improving both home and foreign Trade; for rebuilding and augmenting the Navy; and for doing all This, without any burthensome Imposition on the People; as the Parliament more than once acknowledged.*

It was so much a Maxim of Queen *Elizabeth*, to save for the *Publick*, not for *her self*; and to mea-
sure.

sure her Riches, by the Riches of the Nation, not by the Treasures she had in her Coffers ; that she refused Supplies offered, and remitted Payments of Supplies granted, when she found that she was able to carry on the publick Service without them. The two great Principles of that *O'Economy*, which enabled Her to do so much for her *People*, and to oppress them so little, seem to have been These. 1st, She made the most of her *Revenues* ; not by tormenting, and racking her Subjects, like *Henry VII.* but by keeping a strict Hand over her *Officers*, and hindering them from enriching Themselves, either by direct Fraud, or by a clandestine Management, which may be justly termed indirect Fraud, and is often more pernicious than the other.— 2^{dly}, She practised that *superior O'Economy*, of which we have spoken in a *former Paper*, with the utmost Ability. What could be done by *Wisdom*, or *Courage*, she never attempted by *Money* ; nor expected that her Subjects should *buy* her out of Difficulties. Strong at home, she affected little to lean on foreign Help. As her Alliance was often courted, and she seldom courted That of others, it was in her Power, and she took the Advantage, to engage in no Expence, but such as the Interest of her Kingdom render'd immediately necessary. To this Interest alone she proportioned her Expence. This was the sole Rule of her Conduct. The *Huguenots*, whom she assisted in their first War, made their Peace without Her, and assisted to retake from her the Places, she had bargained for with them ; yet she helped them, in the Wars, which followed, with her Troops, her Ships, and her Money. The *Dutch* had given her no Cause to complain of their Behaviour. Yet when *France* abandoned them at the Treaty of *Vervins*, and they had no Support but Hers remaining, she made a *new Bargain* with them, and lessened her own Charge ; because she knew they were able, at that Time, to supply the Deficiency. In

In all these Expences, she was careful neither to starve nor overfeed the Cause, whilst it lasted ; and she frequently stipulated a Repayment ; which she might exact afterwards, if she found Reason so to do ; or which she might remit, and thereby create a second Obligation to Her, if she found her Account in such an Instance of Generosity. Queen *Elizabeth* was not only thus *frugal* for her People, but perpetually attentive to the Methods of *enriching* them. In the very first Parliament, which she held, amidst the most important Affairs ; such as the Settlement of the *Crown* on her own Head ; the Change of *Religion* ; and the Establishment of the *Church* ; Regulations for the Improvement of *Trade*, and Increase of *Shipping* were not forgot.

We might pursue the same Observation through the whole Course of her Reign, both in Parliament, and out of it ; and shew, in numberless Instances, how she rose to the highest, and descended even to the lowest Circumstances, which in any Degree affected the *Trade* and *Navigation* of her Subjects. We might shew the Advantages she took, in these Respects, not only of the Faults committed by other Governments, but of the Misfortunes of other Countries. In a Word, we might shew how *War* itself, one of the greatest publick Calamities, instead of impoverishing, became a Source of Riches to this Nation, by the Manner, in which she made it.

But these Particulars would carry us beyond the Bounds we have prescribed to our selves. In general, it will not be denied that, beside the Spirit of *Industry*, which exercised itself at home, Queen *Elizabeth* raised and pushed to the highest Degree, by the Protection and Encouragement she gave, a Spirit of discovering *new Countries* ; making *new Settlements* ; and opening *new Veins of Trade*. The Force of this first Impression has lasted long amongst us. *Commerce* has thrived under Neglects, and Discouragement. It

has

has subsisted under Oppressions and Obstructions; and the *Spirit* of it is not yet extinguished by That of *Stockjobbing*; though the *Spirit* of *Stockjobbing* be to That of *Trade*, what the *Spirit* of *Faction* is to That of *Liberty*. The Tendency of *both* is to advance the Interest of a few worthless Individuals, at the Expence of the whole Community. The Consequence of both, if ever they prevail to the Ruin of *Trade* and *Liberty*, must be, that the *Harpies* will starve in the midst of imaginary Wealth; and that the Children of *Faction*, like the iron Race of *Cadmus*, will destroy one another.

Before Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Commerce of *England* was confined and poor. In her Reign, it extended itself over all the known, and even into the unknown Parts of the World. We traded to the *North*, and opened our Passage into *Muscovy*. We carried our Merchandize up the *Duina*, down the *Volga*, and across the *Caspian Sea* into *Persia*.

Our Merchants visited the Coasts of *Africa*; all the Countries of the *Grand Seignior*; and following the Tracks of the *Venetians* into the *East-Indies*, They soon followed the *Portuguese* thither by the Cape of *good Hope*. They went thither through the *South Sea*, and sailed round the World. In the *West-Indies*, they not only traded, but established themselves in Spight of all the Power of *Spain*.

Before Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Fleet of *England* was so inconsiderable, that even in the Days of her *Father*, if I mistake not, we were forced to borrow, or hire Ships of *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, and other Places.

In her Reign, it soon grew to such a Number and Strength, that it became terrible to the greatest maritime Powers of *Europe*.

On such Foundations were the Riches and Power of this Kingdom laid by Queen *Elizabeth*; and These were some of the Means she employed to gain the

the *Affections* of her Subjects. Can we be surprized if she succeeded. O.



'Tis but by Way of Simile.

PRIOR.

HAVE you not seen, at Country Wake,
A Crew of Danicrs merry make?
They figure in and figure out;
Go Back to Back, and turn about;
They set; take Hands; they cross; change Sides;
(Each Movement a scrub Minstrel guides)
Around the measur'd Labyrinth trace,
'Till each regains his former Place.
So certain Potentates (two Couple)
Leagued in *Alliance*, hight *Quadruple*,
After a Maze of *Treaties* run,
Are e'en just where They first begun;
I won't affirm who led the Dance,
(Yet for the Rhyme suppose it *F——e*)
But This I dare at least to say,
Old E——d must the Piper pay.

R.





* N^o. 238. SATURDAY, Jan. 23, 17³⁰/₃₁.

—*magnum Reginæ nomen obumbrat.* Virg.

To CALEB DANVERS, Esq;

SIR,



HE Reputation of superior Wisdom and Abilities in *political Affairs* sets a Man in such a conspicuous Point of Light, and is so instrumental to the Advancement of his Fortune, that it is not in the least wonderful to see a Multitude of ridiculous Mimicks and Pretenders to this kind of Knowledge. I do not mean those ingenious Gentlemen, who commonly pass under the Denomination of *Coffee-house Politicians*, and make it their Business to harangue upon publick Affairs, with no other Design than to display their Oratory and Judgment; but even some of Those, who actually move in a higher Sphere, and have thrust Themselves into great Employments by Accidents, Cabals, Exigencies of State, or other Methods, which have no Relation to Merit.

It seems to be the Opinion of these Men, that *great Abilities* necessarily attend the Possession of *great Posts*; and that nothing farther is required to set them upon a Level with *Ximenes*, *Burleigh*, *Richlien*, or *Colbert*, but putting on a wise Face, an important Air, and some other outward Appearances.

* Mr. Francklin was taken up for this Paper and an Article of foreign News in the former Paper, for which an Information is filed against Him.

Beaumont and *Fletcher* have ridicul'd this Kind of Folly very humorously in one of their Plays; where They introduce a *Statesman*, who thinks all the necessary Qualifications of that Office consist in the Manner of his *Dress*, or the Furniture of his *Study*. He hath a particular *Gown* to read *Petitions* in, and a *Standish* to answer *French Letters* with. He is very exact in the Adjustment of his *Bandstring*, and takes Care to have his Cloaths made as much like *Machiavel's*, as can be gather'd from Tradition. He hath a Collection of *new-made Words*, to amuse the World with, upon Occasion; and gives out, as a necessary Mark of his Wisdom, that He is troubled with the *Gout*, the *Palsey*, or the *Gravel*.

It is pleasant enough to observe the Conduct of *such a Man*, when He gets into Power and takes the Reins of Government into his Hands.

He hath often heard, and perhaps even read, that *Disimulation* is a necessary Accomplishment in the Character of a *Politician*; and from thence concludes that He must never speak *Truth*. He therefore makes it his Business, in the first Place, to get a ready Habit of *Lying* upon all Occasions, and makes no Distinction between revealing the whole Truth, or artfully concealing some Part of it, and asserting downright Falshoods. Nay, He will tell a flat *Lye* one Day; contradict it with *another* as palpable, the next; and, in a Day or two afterwards, with a shameless Front laugh at Those, who were Fools enough to believe Him in *either*.

In the same Manner, as *Secrecy* is very often a necessary Quality in *Statesmen*, He affects a dark, mysterious, unintelligible Method of Proceeding upon all Occasions. He looks upon *Solomon* as a Fool for saying that *in a Multitude of Counsellors there is Wisdom*; and therefore consolidates the whole Council of the Nation into HIMSELF. He gives us indeed one strong Proof that his *secret Services* are very great, by the *Sums* He requires for carrying them on.

Good

Good Intelligence is another Thing, requisite to the Character of a *wise* and an *able Statesman*; for which Reason, our *Mock-Minister* must likewise ape Him in this Particular; but how does He do it? Not in Affairs *abroad* and the Secrets of the *Cabinet*. They are beneath his Notice. He suffers *foreign States* to take what Measures they please; and concludes, in his own fond Imagination, that He shall be able, at any Time, to controul their Counsels, as he influences Affairs at home, by the prevailing Argument of *Money*. For this Reason, *Treaties* are often negotiated and Affairs, of the utmost Importance, transacted in neighbouring Kingdoms, without his knowing any Thing of the Matter, till they are concluded. But to make amends for This, He is very careful to have good Intelligence *at home*, and spares no Cost to come at it.—— He plants *Spies* at the Door of every Gentleman, who does not concur with his Measures, to observe what Persons are admitted; and will not suffer them to go upon a Party of Pleasure, or take a little Trip into the Country, to see a Friend, without his Knowledge. — He hath *Officers*, with large Salaries, to intercept *private Correspondence*, and discover the *Secrets of Families*. Nay, He can *forge* Correspondence, upon Occasion, and afterwards give *these Officers* an Order to *intercept* it.—— His *Lyons* frequent every Coffee-house, Tavern, and Club; to report the Conversation of the Company, and let Him know how universally He is hated. — Nay, there is not a Party at *Quadrille*, without his penetrating into the Secrets of it; and even the Disputes of the *Tea-Table* are not beneath his wise Inquisition.

But the most mischievous Folly of a *Minister*, in such a Kingdom as This, is the Affectation of *Treaty-making*. In the Court of *Turin*, and some other Courts, in the same Situation, *Treaties* are often necessary, to secure their Dominions, in certain Conjunctions, against the Designs of their powerful Neighbours; but there are very few Conjunctions,

which render the same Precautions necessary to a People, who are divided from the Continent, and are Masters of the Sea, which surrounds them. This Affectation is the more dangerous, when it happens to seize the Head of a *Minister*, who is totally ignorant of *foreign Affairs*, and yet so madly devoted to the Interest of his *own Family*, that He will not trust his Negotiations into any other Hands than Those of some very *near Relation*, who is as ignorant of those Affairs as *Himself*. Being thus infatuated, He sends *Ambassadors* to foreign Courts, in the usual Form, without considering whether They have any one Qualification requisite to the Service of their Country in *those Courts*, in which They are to reside. The necessary Consequence of such a Choice is, that He will become the Dupe of all the Powers of *Europe* in his Negotiations with Them. He gives his Creatures Instructions to make a very great Bustle, and not suffer any Ministers to go beyond them in the outward Appearance of Business. If there happen to be any Disputes between some States, which render a *Treaty* necessary for the Accommodation of them, our *Mock-Minister* thinks it incumbent upon Him to project a *Counter-Treaty*, though his Master is *in Peace with all Powers abroad*; and to form new *Schemes*, without any Reason, or seeming to have the least Apprehension of the natural Consequences of them, till they are pointed out by *others*, who look a little farther than Himself; and then arrogates a great deal of Wisdom to Himself in shifting his Measures, though it is an evident Mark of his Weakness and Folly; for by these Means He works his Country into Difficulties; brings her Interests into Dispute; and makes her a *Principal* in Quarrels, which do not concern her, instead of the advantageous Circumstance of being call'd in as an *Auxiliary*, or a *Mediator*. Being embark'd thus far, He thinks himself oblig'd to go on and, rather than own *one wrong Measure*, endeavours to extricate Himself out of it by *another*; turns

a *political Mendicant*; strolls about from Court to Court; and like other Beggars, of the same Order, takes no *Thought for the Morrow, but lets the Morrow take Thought for it self. Sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof.*

To speak without a Metaphor, He flies from Treaty to Treaty; commits Blunders upon Blunders; and lives from Year to Year upon Expedients; till at last he finds Himself, as well as his Master, involv'd in contradictory and impracticable Engagements with all the Powers of *Europe*.

The Cardinal *de Retz* observes that the Cardinal *de Mazarine* was accused of *Weakness* very unjustly in a Case where the *Court*, being afraid of the *People*, yielded to the *Parliament*. — I might observe from hence how much even a *French Parliament* could do at that Time; and what a Figure They made with the *People* on their Side; but That is not immediately to my present Purpose.

The Cardinal *de Retz* supposes that the *Minister* could do nothing, upon that Occasion, unless what He did; and then adds, — *But We may justly charge to his Imprudence, what we do not charge to his Weakness. He is inexcusable for not having foreseen and prevented those Conjunctions, in which nothing can be done, which it is not a Fault to do. I have observ'd that Fortune never reduces Men to this Condition; which is, of all Conditions, the most unhappy; and that it can be the Case of no Persons, except Those, who, by their own Fault, precipitate Themselves into it. Though I have endeavour'd (says He) to find the Reason of This, I have not found it; but I am convinc'd, by Examples, of the Truth of the Observation.*

Is the Reason then so hard to find? — I think not — To judge, according to the general Course of human Affairs, and to speak according to our common Notions, there neither is, nor hath ever been, since the Ages of *Miracles*, any extreme Situation, absolutely decided in *Good*, or *Ill*, without the Concurrence of Men. However *Fortune* may inter-

pose in producing some Events, which We ascribe to Her, because We imagine They could not have been foreseen, or prevented by us; yet, in the main, she only acts a Part; sometimes for us; at other Times against us. Some few particular Accidents are her Works; but most are the immediate and visible Effects of the Conduct of Men. All the various Events, which compose every great Conjunction, are never wholly due to *her Caprice*, or perhaps wholly due to *human Wisdom*, or to *human Folly*; but, generally speaking, every such complicated Conjunction is owing to one of the *two last*; because the Circumstances of every such Conjunction are generally owing to the Improvement, or Neglect of *those Accidents*, which we did not foresee; and to the Sagacity or Blindness, with which We prepared, or neglected to prepare for *others*.

It is plain therefore, from Experience and from Reason, that when *Ministers* fall into such a Situation, as the Cardinal *de Retz* describes, *Fortune* may have furnish'd some Materials; but They must have fram'd the *Labyrinth* themselves. Our Merit is greater or less, and so is our Demerit, as *Fortune* hath favour'd us more, or hath been more averse to us; but she can never reduce us to such an Extremity, as to leave nothing in our Power to do, *which it is not a Fault to do*, unless when our *Folly* co-operates with her *Malice*. Nay, though her *Malice* alone cannot reduce us to such a State, our *Folly* can.

Te facimus, Fortuna, Deam —

This Way of Reasoning would certainly hold, when apply'd to the Case, mention'd by the *Cardinal*; and perhaps it holds much more strongly in some *modern Examples*, which I could mention. Your Readers will immediately perceive how different our Case is at present; and what a Mortification must it be to every *Malecontent*, to see our present, *excellent Ministers* winding up their Negotiations, and consum-

inating

mating their Labours for the Publick, with such inimitable Dexterity, Penetration and Address.

It must be confess'd, indeed, that the Fluctuation of Affairs hath oblig'd them to go from Court to Court; and to make *Treaties*, which (as the judicious Author of the *London Journal* observes) it is by no means proper to *execute*. — They found us engag'd in a Treaty with the *Emperor*; but They have very wisely *varied* from it. — They made a Treaty with *France*; and have hitherto very wisely observ'd it. — They sent a large Squadron of Ships, with an hostile Appearance, and without any Declaration of War, into the *West-Indies*; but They wisely gave the *Admiral* Instructions not to make use of any other Force than *Persuasion*. — They sent another Squadron into the *Baltick*; and a third into the *Mediterranean*; but They very wisely gave the Commanders of them the same *pacifick Instructions*; even though *Spain* was actually at War with us, and attacking one of our most valuable Possessions. — They afterwards enter'd into a Treaty with *Spain*; but They have hitherto very wisely declined to put it in *Execution*; and if they are now negotiating another Treaty at *Vienna*, as We have been told, I doubt not that the same Wisdom will appear in it, whether it is design'd to be put in *Execution*, or not.

I am not insensible, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that several Objections may be started against *this Measure*; and that *factionous Persons* may ask a thousand impertinent Questions upon it; as for Instance;

‘ Will our *M——r* execute the Treaty of *Seville*,
 ‘ or not? — If He does execute it, will not He be
 ‘ answerable for the Consequences of it; such as In-
 ‘ crease of Debts; new Loads of Taxes; the Acci-
 ‘ dents of a War, in which even *good Success* may be
 ‘ detrimental to us in the highest Degree; a War,
 ‘ purely *ministerial*, if ever any War was such; nei-
 ‘ ther forc'd upon us by *Injuries*, nor provok'd by
 ‘ *Insults*; neither begun for the Sake of the People,
 ‘ nor

' nor occasion'd by the Advice of the *People*? — Will
 ' they be easy under the Oppressions of such a War;
 ' or be pacify'd, when They see the Consequences of
 ' it more nearly, with being told that the *Emperor* is
 ' grown too powerful by our Means, and ought to
 ' be reduc'd, as one of our * *News-Writers* hath lately
 ' told us; or that He is unreasonable in opposing our
 ' Measures, though taken without his Consent or
 ' Knowledge, and ought to be chastis'd? — Does
 ' not our *able M——r* seem to entertain, at last, some
 ' of these Apprehensions, which seiz'd every Body else
 ' at first, by the Backwardness He hath shewn in ex-
 ' ecuting this Treaty, notwithstanding the Importu-
 ' nity of *Spain*? and does not This reflect great Ho-
 ' nour on the Judgment of *Those*, who oppos'd Him?
 ' Will He then absolutely refuse to execute *this*
 ' Treaty, as He hath hitherto declin'd it? — Will He
 ' endeavour to reconcile Himself at *Vienna*? — Would
 ' such a Measure, tho' certainly right in *other Persons*,
 ' be justifiable in *Him*? — Hath not the *Emperor* shewn
 ' that He does not *fear* us? — Will He not affect to
 ' shew that He does not *want* us? — Will the Expulsion
 ' of *one Minister* reconcile Him to the *other*? — Will He
 ' forego his own Advantage to save *Those*, whom
 ' *France* hath saved more than once already? — *Spain*
 ' wanted his Assistance, and was forced to buy it very
 ' dear — Shall *We* buy it cheap? — Is He the only
 ' Power in *Europe*, who can afford us a Pennyworth,
 ' when We want an *anniversary Treaty*? — Will He
 ' not make *Those* pay very well for his Assistance, at
 ' this Time, who formerly made an ostentatious Boast
 ' of their *own Riches*, by calling Him a *beggarly Prince*,
 ' and encouraging every petty Town in *England* to
 ' treat Him with the same Indignity? — Will He not
 ' insist upon some Reparation for the Aspersions,
 ' which have been cast upon his Honour in more
 ' than one Instance? — Will *Spain* be quiet under this

* See the Post-Boy of December 31.

' Failure on our Part ?—If They are not, what be-
 ' comes of our *Trade, Gibraltar*, and our other Inte-
 ' rests, so well secured by the Treaty of *Seville*; in
 ' making which the *Commerce of Great Britain* de-
 ' termin'd his Majesty, preferably to *all other Inte-*
 ' *rests* ? — What will the Friends and Advocates of
 ' *this M———r* say ? How will They behave ? What
 ' must the poor *B—of St. A—* do ? How will He be
 ' able to answer *Himself*, or to reconcile what He
 ' said last Year with what He must say this Year ?—
 ' Besides what We must spend in the *Empire*, and
 ' what We must lose in *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, are
 ' We sure that *France* will follow the bright Example
 ' We have set Them and neglect *Spain*, because We
 ' break with *Spain*, or give *Spain* Reasons to break
 ' with us ?—May We not unite *France* and *Spain* as
 ' closely as They were united in the former War ;
 ' and yet not regain the *Emperor* ? — Shall We not
 ' disoblige all Nations in their Turns ; and perhaps,
 ' at last, unite them all against us ? — May not *such a*
 ' *Measure* therefore, under our present Circumstances,
 ' be attended with worse Consequences than even
 ' turning out the *M———r* Himself ?—Is it not easy
 ' to shew that some of these Objections would not
 ' lye in any Degree, and that others would not lye
 ' in the same Degree against *this Measure*, if carry'd
 ' on by any other than the *present M———r*, whose
 ' peculiar Unhappiness it is, that He cannot do what
 ' is *right*, without Inconsistency, Disadvantage, and
 ' Violation of Treaties ?

I say, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that such Questions as These
 may be ask'd by *factious Malecontents*; but They will
 be easily answer'd by such judicious Writers as the
 Authors of the *London Journal* and the *Free Briton*, to
 whom I refer that honourable Employment, and am,

S I R,

C. D.

Your most humble Servant.

SATURDAY,



SATURDAY, Jan. 30, 17 $\frac{30}{31}$.



It might be expected, perhaps, that the extraordinary Notice, which was taken of our Paper, last *Saturday*, would strike us dumb upon that Subject; but it is a Subject of such Importance, that We must not suffer our selves to be deterr'd from explaining it, as We see Occasion, and as we apprehend We have a Right to do by the *Laws*, which we enjoy at present.

It hath, indeed, been often our Misfortune to fall under the high Displeasure of a *certain Gentleman*, for exerting the Privilege of every *Briton*, in delivering our Sentiments upon publick Affairs, as He hath formerly done Himself with great Latitude; but there is one peculiar Hardship in our Case; that at the very Time, when He makes Use of his Authority to restrain the Freedom of our Pens, He is known to employ others to throw about his Scandal at Random; and not above a Day or two before Mr. *Francklin* was taken up, last Week, a *dirty Libel of Quality* came out, which the Author very properly intitled *Defamation display'd*; for it is an Heap of the coarsest *Billingsgate*, that ever was published; and whilst He complains of *ungentlemanlike Language* on our Side, He calls the Authors and Patrons of the *Craftsman* (whom He supposes to be *Gentlemen of Distinction*) *Traytors* and *Villains* in every Page.

Whilst such extraordinary Liberties are taken on *one Side*, it seems reasonable, I think, that some Indulgence should be granted to the *other*; and that the *Gentleman*, of whom I am speaking, should either put a Stop to the Outrages of his *own Advocates*, or

not

not endeavour to prevent *others* from making just Reprizals. The Batteries of *Power* and the *Press*, at the same Time, are too great Odds against any Writer, who hath no other Weapons to defend Himself than Truth and his Pen. But We must submit to our Lot; and be content with suffering in what We think a *good Cause*; the Cause of *Liberty* and of *our Country*.

As the last Instance of *this Gentleman's* Resentment hath fallen upon us for what We have said, concerning the Report of a Negotiation at *Vienna*; and since one of his *weekly Advocates* hath thought fit to make a Dispute of it, in the *London Journal* of *Saturday* last, I must take the Liberty of examining some of his Arguments; for though his Paper is very far from deserving an Answer, yet it will furnish us with some Observations, which are not unseasonable at this Time.

He asserts, with his usual Veracity, that We are angry with his *Master* for coming right at last; and then breaks out into the following Exclamations. —
 “ What unaccountable Men are these! They have
 “ been bauling out these three or four Years, *that*
 “ *our Alliances were unnatural, and destructive to the*
 “ *Kingdom*; *that we went blundering on from one*
 “ *Expedient to another, and should never be right till*
 “ *We renewed the old and natural Alliance*; and
 “ now, as this *Hague* Letter-Writer informs us, We
 “ are *renewing the old natural Alliance*, We are
 “ undone again; - for it will, He says, *be attended*
 “ *with very fatal Consequences, and almost insuperable*
 “ *Difficulties*. Upon which He makes this wise
 Remark; “ Very wonderful truly! for, according to
 “ the Logick of these Gentlemen, *the Ministry are*
 “ *never right, when they do what the Craftsmen*
 “ *count wrong*, and *always wrong, when they do*
 “ *what the Craftsmen count right!*

What a pretty Jingle of Words is here from a Man, who pretends to Logick and Reasoning? But let us examine the Force of them. Is it not expressly al-
 low'd

low'd in the *Hague Letter* (whether it was written at home, or abroad) that an Accommodation with the *Emperor* is a *right Measure* in itself? Does not the Author wish that it had been thought so long ago, and acknowledge that it is a *desirable Measure at present*? He seems to be apprehensive, indeed, that it may be *attended with very fatal Consequences and almost insuperable Difficulties*, by Reason of our Engagements with *other Courts*, which have put the *Emperor* to a great Expence, and must be dissolv'd to make Way for this new Measure. He was farther apprehensive, that such a *sudden Alteration of Counsels*, in the present Situation of *Europe*, might be resented by *those Courts*, as an *Infraction of Treaties*; and how does Mr. Osborne remove these Apprehensions, or prove them to be groundless? Why, He tells us that *these Engagements were only occasional, or temporary, and ought to last no longer than the Reason, for which they were made, subsisted*. Nay, He maintains that such an Alteration of them, as is here suppos'd, is so far from *undoing what hath been doing these five Years, that it is continuing to do the same Thing, and carrying on the very same Design; which is the Peace and Happiness of the Nation*. — Excellent Reasoning! As if the best Method of obtaining a general Peace (the *only Peace*, that will make the *Nation happy*) was to enter into Treaties with *some Powers*, on Purpose to break them, and to involve *another Power* in great Expences, besides treating Him with the utmost Indignity for several Years together, in order to bring about an Accommodation with Him!

Supposing the *Alliances*, to which *this Writer* alludes, to be only *occasional, or temporary, or Expedients occasion'd by the absolute Necessity of the Times*, (which is a very odd Concession from Him) are We sure that *our Allies* will understand *these Treaties* in the same Sense, and be content with the Annihilation of them, when we think proper? If not,

may

may not such an Alteration of Measures occasion *Difficulties*, and be attended with *fatal Consequences*; and will the *Peace and Happiness of the Nation* be effected in this Case?

I may grant, perhaps, that the *Fulness of Time is come to desert one Ally*; or, as Mr. Osborne observes, to be *deserted* by Them; for He makes the following wise Suppositions, in order to vindicate his *Master* from the Imputation of *deserting Allies*, and *infringing Treaties*.

“ We leave it to the World, whether it is not
 “ more reasonable to suppose that *this one Ally*, who
 “ is a Party in the Treaty of *Seville*, may not have
 “ Views inconsistent with the Interest of the *two*
 “ *other Powers*; and so stand dispos’d to act con-
 “ trary to the Design of *that Treaty*. — Now let
 “ us suppose that *this one Ally*, whom we are said
 “ to desert, did promise that He would neither carry
 “ his Arms to the *Rhine*, nor into *Flanders*; and yet
 “ now will not act with the *other Allies*, unless He
 “ hath that Liberty; then it follows, that *this Ally is*
 “ *not deserted by us* in any other Sense than as He
 “ *ought to be deserted* — Without Doubt. But was
 it not reasonable to suppose This long ago? Was it
 not a natural Consequence, as it was the unquestion-
 able Interest of *that Ally*; and therefore ought
 those Persons, who foretold this Consequence, to be
 aspers’d as *factious Incendiaries*, and *Enemies of their*
Country? Or are those Persons, on the other Hand,
 to be justified, who flatter’d the Nation, from Time
 to Time, with the strongest Assurances of the Sin-
 cerity of *that Ally*, and of their inviolable Attach-
 ment to *our Interest*?

He adds. “ Let us suppose then that upon the
 “ Non-Execution of *this Treaty*, occasion’d by the
 “ different Views of the Allies, *another Court* should
 “ grow stubborn, and refuse to perform their En-
 “ gagements; what must We do?” — Ay, what
 indeed? Here’s another wise Supposition! For the

true Question is whether the *different Views of the Allies* do not proceed from the *different Interests of the Allies*; and whether any *Alliance* can be lasting upon such a Foundation?

However, I am ready to allow that a Nation, under such Circumstances, is at full Liberty to make *Alliances where They think best*; and I am willing to hope, with our Author, that *We shall make one, which will probably be attended with fewer Difficulties and last longer*; or, if a War is become unavoidable on one Side or the other, I still think the Emperor the most proper Ally, and am glad to see this *healing Time* come at last; though I cannot help wishing, for several Reasons, that it had come much sooner.

“ And last of all (*says this exquisite Politician*) let us suppose that *none of all these Supposes are true*; but that We may make up with the Emperor, without breaking with *any other Power*. What a dreadful Thing will That be to the Authors of the *Craftsman*! ’Twill be a Thunderclap, which will *strike Them all dead at once*.” — Well! if That should be the Case, it will set *this Writer* and his *Master* at Ease; and such a Thunderclap may save them a great deal of Pains, in putting these troublesome Writers to any other Kind of Death.

“ Thus (*says the Journalist*) have We reason’d upon *Suppositions*, as the *Craftsman* talk’d upon *Suppositions*; and our Reasoning and his Talking must stand, or fall, with the Truth, or Falshood of the *Suppositions*.” — With all my Heart. But pray observe the Modesty of the Man; *our Reasoning* and his *Talking*! Who but Himself would have ever call’d such Stuff as *This Reasoning*! He seems to hold his *quondam Fasces* in his Hand, and to imagine that He is dictating to his Boys in a little, country Grammar School; but He must not think of acting the *Pedagogue in Politicks*; for, if He continues to write and
reason

reason (as He calls it) in this Manner, He will deserve the *Birch* himself. D

P O S T S C R I P T.

We have been lately obliged with the following excellent Fable, and are proud of communicating it to the Publick as a Specimen of several others, of the same Nature, which may soon see the Light.

F A B L E.

The D O G and the F O X.

To a L A W Y E R.

I Know you Lawyers can, with Ease,
Twist Words and Meanings as you please;
That Language, by your Skill made pliant,
Will bend to favour every Client;
That 'tis the Fee directs the Sense,
To make out either Side's Pretence.
When you peruse the clearest Case,
You see it with a double Face;
For Scepticism is your Profession;
You hold there's Doubt in all Expression.

Hence is the Bar with Fees supply'd;
Hence Eloquence takes either Side.
Your Hand would have but poultry Gleaning,
Could every Man express his Meaning.
Who dares presume to pen a *Deed*,
Unless you previously are fee'd?
'Tis drawn; and to augment the Cost,
In dull Prolixity engross'd;
And now we're well secur'd by Law,
'Till the next Brother find a Flaw.

Read o'er a *Will*; was't ever known
But you could make the Will your own?
For when you read, 'tis with intent
To find out *Meanings* never meant.

Since Things are thus, *se Defendendo*,
I bar fallacious *Innuendo*.

Sagacious *Porta's* Skill could trace
Some Beast, or Bird in every Face ;
The Head, the Eye, the Nose's Shape
Prov'd This an Owl, and That an Ape ;
When, in the Sketches thus design'd,
Resemblance brings some Friend to mind ;
You show the Piece, and give the Hint,
And find each Feature in the Print ;
So monstrous like the Portrait's found,
All know it, and the Laugh goes round.
Like him, I draw from gen'ral Nature,
Is't I, or you then fix the Satire ?

So, Sir, I beg you spare your Pains
In making Comments on my Strains ;
All private Slander I detest ;
I judge not of my Neighbour's Breast ;
Party and Prejudice I hate ;
And write no Libels on the State.

Shall not my *Fable* censure Vice,
Because a Knave is over-nice ?
And lest the Guilty hear and dread,
Shall not the *Decalogue* be read ?
If I lash Vice in general Fiction,
Is't I apply, or Self-conviction ?
Brutes are my Theme ; am I to blame
If Men in Morals are the same ?
I no Man call or Ape, or Ass ;
'Tis his own Conscience holds the Glass.
Thus void of all Offence I write ;
Who claims the Fable, knows his Right.

A *Shepherd's Dog*, unskill'd in Sports,
Pick'd up Acquaintance of all Sorts ;
Among the rest, a *Fox* he knew ;
By frequent Chat their Friendship grew.

Says *Reynard*, 'tis a cruel Case
That Man should stigmatize our Race.

No doubt, among us Rogues you find,
As among Dogs and human Kind;
And yet (unknown to me and you)
There may be honest Men and true.
Thus Slander tries, whate'er it can,
To put us on the Foot with Man.
Let my own Actions recommend;
No Prejudice can blind a Friend;
You know me free from all Disguise;
My Honour as my Life I prize.

By Talk like This, of all Mistrust
The Dog was cur'd, and thought him just.

As on a Time the Fox held forth
On Conscience, Honesty and Worth,
Sudden he stopt, he cock'd his Ear,
Low dropt his brushy Tail with Fear.

Bless us! the Hunters are abroad;
What's all that Clatter in the Road?

Hold, says the Dog, we're safe from Harm,
'Twas nothing but a false Alarm.

At yonder Town 'tis Market-Day;
Some Farmer's Wife is on the Way;
'Tis so, (I know her Pye-ball'd Mare)
Dame *Dobbins* with her *Poultry-Ware*.

Reynard grew huff; says he, this Sncer
From you I little thought to hear;
Your Meaning in your Looks I see;
Pray, what's Dame *Dobbins*, Friend, to me?
Did I e're make her *Poultry* thinner?
Prove that I owe the Dame a Dinner.

Friend, quoth the Cur, I meant no harm,
Then why so captious? Why so warm?
My Words, in common Acceptation,
Could never give this Provocation;
No *Lamb* (for aught I ever knew)
May be more innocent than you.

At this gall'd *Reynard* winc'd, and swore
Such Language ne'er was giv'n before.

What's *Lamb* to me? This saucy Hint
Shows me, base Knave, which Way you squint.
It t'other Night your Master lost
Three Lambs? Am I to pay the Cost?
Your vile Reflections would imply
That I'm the Thief——You *Dog*, you lye.

Thou Knave, thou Fool, (the *Dog* reply'd)
The Name is just, take either Side;
Thy Guilt these Applications speak;
Sirrah, 'tis CONSCIENCE makes you squeak.

So saying, on the *Fox* he flies.
The self-convicted Felon dies,

R



N^o 240. SATURDAY, *Febr.* 6, 1730.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



QUEEN ELIZABETH succeeded in gaining the Affections of her Subjects, not only by the Conduct, which she held *at home*, but by That, which she held in the Management of the national Interest *abroad*.

We have endeavoured to explain some Particulars of the *former*. It remains that we give the least imperfect Ideas we are able of the *latter*, and that we apply the whole great Example of *this Reign*, to confirm the Doctrines we have advanced.

Queen *Elizabeth* could not have established and preserved, as she did, the Tranquility of her People in the midst of Disturbance, nor their Security in the midst of Danger, if she had not taken some Share

Share in the general Affairs of *Europe*. She took therefore such a Share as the Interest of *England* necessarily required at that Time; and she conducted herself in the Management of it with Wisdom and Address superior to any of her Predecessors.

Her *Sister* had been rendered by Bigotry an egregious Bubble to the Court of *Rome*. Persuaded by her *Husband*, and deceived by her *Ministers*, she was so likewise very fatally in the Quarrel, which broke out between *France* and *Spain*. The Parliament, in assenting to her Marriage with a *foreign Prince*, had imposed such *Conditions*, as were judged sufficient to preserve the Constitution of the Government, and the Independency of the Kingdom.

Philip had sworn to the Observation of these *Conditions*. Such of them, as he had not either Time, or Opportunity, or Temptation to break, were observed; but the others proved too weak to hold him. Thus, for Instance, we do not find that he enriched himself at the Expence of *England*. He is said, on the contrary, to have brought hither very great Treasures; and his Father had trusted the Distribution of an immense Sum to *Gardiner*; so that if he bribed the Nation, it was with his own Money, not theirs; but he engaged the Nation in a War with *France*, because *France* broke with *Spain*; notwithstanding the express Condition made by Parliament, * *that the Match should not at all derogate from the League lately concluded betwixt the Queen of England and the King of France, but the Peace should remain inviolate between the English and the French.*

This Sacrifice of the *national* to a *foreign Interest* cost us *Calais*; a Conquest, which the *French* look'd upon as a Compensation for near two hundred other Places, which they were obliged by the Treaty of *Cambray* to give up to *Philip*. *Boulogne* had been

* *Cambden.*

sacrificed in the preceding Reign, not to a *foreign Interest*, but to That of the *Minister*, *Dudley Earl of Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*. The People were willing and able to assert their Right, and to defend their Possession; but the Situation of the *Minister*, and the Schemes of private Interest, which he was carrying on at home, required that he should avoid, at any rate, a War, even a defensive War. In short, *Boulogne*, for which *France* had engaged to give two Millions, was delivered up for four hundred thousand Crowns; and the very *same Minister*, who had opposed with Violence all the publick Considerations, urged by the *Protector* for yielding this Place, yielded it to purchase a *Treaty* necessary for *Himself*, detrimental and dishonourable to the *Nation*.

We have said enough, in a former Paper, concerning the wild Conduct of *Henry VIII.* in *foreign Affairs*; and there is no need of going any farther back. These Examples are sufficient to shew the Opposition between That of *Queen Elizabeth* and That of her Predecessors. She was neither deceiv'd, like them, by her *Ministers*; nor betray'd by her *Passions*, to serve any other Interest at the Expence of *England*.

It would be easy to prove, from many Instances, how careful she was to avoid every Thing, which might even warp the steady Tenor of her Conduct in this Respect. As long as she had no real Interest distinct from That of the Country she governed, she knew that no fictitious Interest could be imposed on Her. She kept herself therefore clear of any such real Interest, and thought that the Crown of *England* deserved her sole, her undivided Care.

Much has been said of her Behaviour in all the *Treaties of Marriage* proposed to Her. We shall not engage in that Disquisition. But This, We think, cannot be controverted; that if ever she was in earnest resolved to marry, she was so when the *Arti-*
cles

cles of Marriage between Her and the Duke of *Anjou* were signed. It is hardly possible, as *Rapin* observes, to account for her Conduct on this Occasion by any other Principle. Now upon this Supposition, what Motive could determine Her to break *this Match* in so abrupt a Manner? The Reasons urged by *Cambden*, and other Writers in general, prove too much. They serve rather to prove that she should not have entered into these Engagements at all, than to account for her breaking them as she did. But among the Reasons, on which *Walsingham* insisted, when he was sent into *France* upon this Occasion, we may observe one in particular, founded on a Fact, which happened after the signing of the *Articles*; and which accounts for the Queen's Conduct in this Case agreeably to Principles, on which she proceeded in all others. The Duke of *Anjou* had accepted the Sovereignty of the *low Countries*. By this Step, He had engaged himself in a War with *Spain*; and the Queen would not, on his Account, engage her People in it; * *desiring nothing more than that by this Marriage the Realm might be preserved in Peace and Tranquility.*

She might incline to marry this Prince, under all the Limitations and Reserves contained in the *Articles*, whilst He had no Dominions on the *Continent*; and yet start backwards and resolve to break the Match, as soon as she saw him actually possess'd of the Sovereignty of the *low Countries*.

Nay, if we should suppose, against historical Probability, that she never designed to consummate her Marriage, tho' she enter'd into *Articles*, yet there will still remain no reasonable Way of accounting for the sudden Resolution she took of breaking at this precise Point of Time; unless we suppose, that she thought this Reason the strongest and the most unanswerable of all Those, which could be urged in

* *Cambden.*

Excuse of a Measure liable to several Objections, and some very inconvenient Contingencies.

There were few Things, which she had more at Heart than rescuing the *Netherlands* from the *Spanish* Yoke; and there was nothing in the whole Extent of *foreign Affairs*, to which she gave greater Attention. Even at this Time, she supplied the Duke of *Anjou* with very considerable Sums, for the Support of his Enterprize; and, about four Years afterwards, she espoused more openly the Cause of these Provinces, by making a Treaty with the *States*, and by sending an Army to their Assistance. But as she would not marry a Prince, who was their *Sovereign*, so she would not accept this *Sovereignty*, when it was offered directly to Her. She persisted in avoiding an Engagement, which might in its Consequence carry her farther than the Interest of *England* required; or oblige her to make greater Efforts than were consistent with that easy and flourishing State, in which she resolved to preserve her own People.

Much more might be said; but This may suffice to shew what the first and fundamental Principle was, by which Queen *Elizabeth* governed herself in all *foreign Affairs*. She considered the Interest of no Kingdom, no State, nor People, no not even the general Interest of the *Reformation*, as zealous a *Protestant* as she was, nor the Preservation of a *Ballance of Power in Europe*, as great an *Heroine* as she was, in any other Light than relatively to the Interest of *England*. She assisted, or opposed, she defended, or attacked, just as this Interest directed; and the Degree, to which it was concerned, was the exact and constant Measure, to which she proportioned her good, and her ill Offices, her Friendship, and her Enmity. She was diverted from this Principle of Conduct neither by Weakness, nor Strength of Mind; neither by Fear, nor Hope; neither by Pusillanimity, nor Courage; neither by Moderation, nor Ambition.

We may conclude this Head, by venturing to affirm that, in the whole-Course of her Reign, there was not a Penny, of *English Money* spent, nor a Drop of *English Blood* spilt; except where it was necessary to keep off from this Nation some real, visible Danger; or to procure to it some real, visible Advantage.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Policy was deep; and the Means he employed were often very secret; but the Ends, to which this Policy and these Means are directed, were never equivocal. Let us now descend into some particular Instances of the Wisdom and Address, with which she pursued this great Principle.

These Particulars may be reduced properly, we think, under two general Heads. The *first* is This; he watched *the Ebbs and Flows of the Power and Interest of Europe*; *the Vicissitudes and Fluctuations in the Affairs of Peace and War*. We use the Words of ** late Writer*, but shall make a very different Application of them.

This uncertain, varied, shifting Scene was so far from being the Cause of *bad Measures*, or the Excuse for *bad Success*, at the Time we are speaking of, that it was the very Source, from whence Queen *Elizabeth* derived those Opportunities, which she improved so gloriously. A weaker Council than Hers might have been puzzled, and weaker Heads might have been turned by so confused a State of Affairs. Unable to steer steadily thro' so many Difficulties, every Current would have carried such Men along with it. Every Blast of Wind would have driven them before it. Perpetually tossed about, at the Mercy of every Event, they must have lived from Day to Day, or from Hour to Hour.

If the Kingdom had escaped intire Destruction in this forlorn Condition, it must have been by Miracle, and without any Merit on the Part of *Those*, who

* Vide *Observations on the Writings of the Craftsman.*
governed.

governed; but this entire Destruction would much more probably have followed, after a long Series of Calamities; without any other Excuse on their Part than That of charging the Catastrophe to the Account of *Fortune*, the common Scape-Goat of *unskilful Ministers*.

The Conduct and the Success of *Queen Elizabeth* and her *Ministers* were very different. She managed *France*, 'till she had taken such Measures, as left her less to fear from *Scotland*; and she manag'd *Spain* 'till she had nothing left to fear from *France*.

She knew what Designs *Henry the second* built on the Pretensions of his Daughter-in-Law, *Mary Queen of Scotland*; and no one, who considers the History of this Time, nay, even as He finds it deduced by *Rapin* himself, will be of his Mind, that she expected to enjoy great *Tranquillity by the Peace*, which she made, soon after her Accession to the Throne, with *France* and *Scotland*.

But the making *this Treaty* gave Her Time, which was of the utmost Importance to Her to gain, abroad as well as at home, in the beginning of her Reign. The Manner, in which she made it, gave Her Reputation likewise; and she was wise enough to know of what real Advantage Reputation is; and how much That of a Prince depends on the first Steps He makes in Government.

She practis'd in this Negotiation a Rule, which she observed to the last. How much soever *Philip* resented her Proceedings at home, it was plain He could not abandon, at that Time, her Interests abroad. The Point of Honour, drawn from the Consideration that *England* had entered into the War for the Sake of *Spain*, did not probably weigh much with Him; but the Pretensions of *France* gave Him a just Alarm; and the same Reasons, which are said to have induced Him to save her Life, when she was *Princess*, stood in Force to make Him support Her, now she was *Queen*, against the Power of

of *France*. Notwithstanding this plausible Consideration, Queen *Elizabeth* resolved to treat for Herself, and by Herself. *She was of Opinion*, says *Cambden*, *that it would not redound to the Honour of England, or Herself, to be reduced to the Necessity of supporting her Interests by a Dependance on Spain*. She exerted the same Spirit, and behaved Herself with the same Dignity, on a very remarkable Occasion, and in a very nice Conjunction, at the latter End of Her Reign; at the Treaty of *Vervins*.

She despised the Offers made Her by *Henry the fourth*. She resolved to continue the War, and to support alone the States of the *low Countries*, rather than to suffer the Man in the World, who had the greatest Obligations to Her, to treat for Her. — True it is, that she had Reason to be dissatisfied with his Behaviour; but besides That, the good Understanding between this Prince and *Philip the second* being promoted by the Court of *Rome*; it is possible Queen *Elizabeth* might think such Negotiators, as were devoted to that Court, not quite so proper to be trusted with the Interests of her Kingdom.

As soon as *Henry the second* was dead, and his Son *Francis the second*, a young and in every Sense a weak Prince, was on the Throne of *France*, she acted with less Reserve and Caution. The Treaty, which had been privately negotiated before with the Malecontents of *Scotland*, was now signed; her Army marched to their Assistance; the *French* were driven out of that Kingdom; the *Reformation* was solemnly and legally established there; and Queen *Elizabeth* was the avowed Defender of the Liberties, Privileges, and Religion of the *Scottish Nation*. — *Francis the second* lived a very short Time, and died without leaving any Children. The Fear therefore of an Union of the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* with That of *France* terrified *Philip the second* no longer. Queen *Elizabeth* had therefore the more to fear. The Court of *France* had still the same Bi-

gotry, and the same Hatred to Her; tho' not the same Pretensions. The Court of *Spain* could be now no more restrained, by any political Consideration, from pursuing those Designs against Her, even in Conjunction with *France*, which no other Consideration had hitherto retarded.

The Projects formed and the Engagements taken between these Powers, at the Congress at *Bayonne*, were not absolute Secrets. She felt the Effects of them every Day, in Conspiracies against her Government, and even her Life. Too weak to defend Herself by Force on so many Sides, she defended Herself by Stratagem; improved every Incident; and took some Advantage of every Turn. She contented Herself to countermine the Intrigues of the Courts of *Rome*, of *France*, and of *Spain*. With the *first* she kept no Measures, because she could have no War. With the *two last* she kept all Measures possible to prevent one. Though Queen *Elizabeth's* whole Reign was properly a *State of War*, and there was no Point of Time in it, where she was free from all Attacks, private as well as publick, indirect as well as direct; yet the first twenty five Years of her Reign may be said, in one Sense, to have been neither a *State of War*, nor a *State of Peace*; because both Sides pretended to look on the *Treaties of Peace* as subsisting; and either disavow'd, or excus'd the Hostilities reciprocally committed, not constantly, but occasionally committed. If she had fallen into *this State* from That of a *settled Peace*, disentangled from all Pretensions, either of her own upon others, or of others upon her, there would be no Occasion to admire her Conduct. But that she should be able, when she neither had, nor could have a *settled, secure Peace* with her Neighbours, to stand so long on the slippery Verge of *War*, and avoid the Necessity of engaging directly in it, till she was in a Condition of doing so with Success, is justly Matter of the greatest Admiration. — If she had only aimed

aimed to keep off the *evil Day*, it might at last have come upon Her with a double Weight of Misfortune. If she had only gained Time to prolong *Suspence*, she might have lost Opportunities; wasted her Strength; tired, jaded and exhausted her People. But This was far from being the Case. She was in *this State* by good, not by bad Policy; and she made the Use she designed of it. She disappointed, divided, and weakened her Enemies. She prepared the Opportunities, which she afterwards improved. She united, animated, and enriched her People; and (as difficult as That may seem to be for a Prince in such a Situation) She maintained her own Dignity, and supported the Honour of the Nation. — To exemplify all these Particulars, would be to write her History; but it is necessary to say something upon them.

Of the *two Powers* abroad, from whom alone she had any Thing to apprehend, and with whom she was principally concerned, *France* gave her the least and the shortest Trouble. *Charles the ninth* came a *Minor* to the Crown. *Two Factions*, drunk with religious Enthusiasm, and headed by Men of the most desperate Ambition, desolated the Kingdom. The *Queen Mother* blew up the Flames first; and tried in vain afterwards to extinguish them, by a Deluge of Blood. *Queen Elizabeth*, who had probably encouraged the famous Conspiracy of *Amboise*, which broke out just before the Death of *Francis the second*, continued to abet and support the *Protestant Party*; but still subordinately to such Measures, as her Situation, relatively to *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or *Spain*, obliged her to keep with *Charles the ninth*. These Measures were sometimes such, and even after the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, as the Zeal of the *Huguenots* could hardly forgive her. But she went wisely and steadily on to her own Purposes.

Non ponebat enim Rumores ante salutem.

When *Henry the third* came to the Crown, and the *League* was once formed, the Crown of *France* wanted her Assistance, and had it; and as powerful as the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* were, they could give her little open Disturbance; unless they prevailed in their wicked, and almost chimerical Projects in *France*. With these Princes, and their Faction therefore she never kept any Measures; as they never kept any with Her. As politick a Prince, as *Philip the second* is esteemed to have been, he was amused by the Regard, which *Queen Elizabeth* affected sometimes for his *Person*, and always for the *Treaties* subsisting between them; and he lost the Opportunities, in which he might have attacked Her with Advantage. The slow Councils of *Spain*, and the slower Execution of them, produced Opportunities, which her Sagacity and Vigour improved. The Support she gave to the *Huguenots*, made the *Spaniards* afraid of provoking Her, by too hasty and direct Attacks, to give the same Support to the People of the *low Countries*. She turn'd their Game against them, and acted in the *low Countries* in the same Manner, as they acted in *Ireland*, and even in *England*; but with better Effect. From the Year 1577 she began to favour this Revolt; and in the Year 1585 she made a formal Treaty with the *States*. Such of these Measures as could be concealed, she concealed. Such of them as could not be conceal'd, she excus'd, or endeavoured to justify and reconcile with the *Treaties* between *Spain* and *England*.

As the Time she gained and the Diversions she gave, by this Management, put it quite out of the Power of *France*, and made *Spain* less able to hurt her; so they alone put it in her Power to settle her Government, and to do all the great Things at home, of which we have spoken in other Papers. We shall not repeat them here; but shall conclude this Head by observing, in an Example or two, how she maintained her own Dignity in other Cases, besides That
of

of *Treating*, which is taken Notice of above, and how she supported the Honour of the Nation; and the Interests of her Subjects.

During the Time she was the most careful to avoid a War with *Spain*, and had the most Reason to be so; even in the Year 1568, whilst those Revolutions, which broke out soon afterwards, were preparing, She would not suffer the least Injury to be offered to any of her Subjects with Impunity. Some Vessels and Effects, belonging to an *English* Merchant, had been seized by the *Spaniards* in the *west Indies*. She did not make War upon This; but she soon found and seized an Opportunity of resenting the Insult. She laid her Hands on very great Sums of Money, claim'd indeed by *Genouese* Merchants, but sent to the *low Countries* and designed, no doubt, for the *Spanish* Service there. The Duke of *Alva* seized, in return, the Persons and Effects of the Subjects of *England*; and she immediately made Reprisals on Those of the *Flemmings*. What Composition was made with the *Genouese* does not, I think, appear; but as the Seizure was to the Disappointment and Loss of *Spain*, so the Composition was probably to the Advantage of *England*; since, at this very Time, Queen *Elizabeth* discharged the Debts contracted by her *Father* and *Brother* to Foreigners. As to the Effects of the *Netherlands*, she returned the Overplus of the Value, after having repay'd to her own Subjects the full Amount of their Losses. She carved for her People; and would not leave it to a Dispute, *what Reparation* they should have; much less whether they should have any *Reparation, or no*.

Such a Conduct as This, which she held, even whilst she kept Measures with *Spain*, and avoided a War, foretold what might be expected from Her, and what she actually performed, when she thought it no longer expedient to keep the same Measures. But This will come, with other Reflections, more

properly under the next *general Head*; to which we think that the particular Instances of *Queen Elizabeth's Wisdom and Address*, in the Management of *foreign Affairs*, may be reduced. O.



N^o 241. SATURDAY, Feb. 13, 17³⁰/₃₁.



THE Dispute about the *Liberty of the Press* having been revived by the *Advocates of Power*, We are oblig'd to resume the Examination of that important Subject, which shall never want any Light that We are able to give it.

When I say that *this Dispute is revived*, I do not mean that there is, at present, any Design on Foot to abridge the *Liberty of writing* by a *Law*; or that even these *shameless Scribblers* have yet gone so far as to plead openly for it; but They begin again to argue for the Necessity of such Restraints, and endeavour to reduce it within such narrow Bounds, as would amount, in Effect, to a Suppression of it in those Branches, which are most useful to the Commonwealth.

It is necessary to repeat, in this Place, what hath been often observed, that the *only Liberty of writing*, which We enjoy above slavish Nations, is That of examining all Matters of *Religion and Government*; and that this Privilege would be of no Advantage to us, if it was confined to Panegyrick, and We were not allowed the Liberty of censuring the Conduct of *Men in Power*, whenever We think their Measures deserve it.—Here lies the Stress of the Argument.—Let us now apply it to the Case, which occasioned the Revival of this Dispute.

Soon after the Treaty of *Seville* was laid before the World, with concomitant *Observations* upon it, several Gentlemen took the Liberty, on the other Side, to give their Opinion, as they had a Right to do, that this *Treaty* was not so well calculated for the Peace of *Europe*, as They could wish; and that it would not produce the desired Effect.—They express'd their Apprehensions that the *Emperor* would not easily submit to the Introduction of 6000 *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, (his most favourite and valuable Dominions) in Contravention to the Treaty of *London*, and stipulated to *Spain*, as an immediate Condition of their dissolving an *Alliance*, which was very beneficial to Him.—As They thought his *Imperial Majesty* would not readily give his Consent to this Measure, taken in Defiance of his Honour and Interest, as well as the Honour and Interest of the *Empire*; so They apprehended farther that it would be very difficult for the Allies of *Seville* to effectuate it without his Consent; because the contrary Interests of the *Allies* might probably create Differences amongst Them, concerning the Manner of executing their Engagements; and as this Stipulation, in Favour of *Don Carlos*, is the principal Article of the Treaty of *Seville*, They were afraid that all the others, which depend upon it, would consequently fall to the Ground, if That was not executed.

These Apprehensions have been verified, almost in every Particular, to the Confusion of the Writers on the other Side, who treated Them as the groundless Surmises and last vain Hopes of *despairing Malecontents*.—The *Emperor* hath hitherto inflexibly refused to comply with this Variation from the *Quadruple Alliance*; and, to support his Refusal, hath poured so formidable an Army into *Italy*, that the Allies of *Seville* did not think proper to attempt the Execution of their *Treaty* all last Summer, tho' it was stipulated *without Loss of Time*, and the Court of *Spain* solicited it with the utmost Application.—

The

The Consequence of This hath been that the *Spaniards* thought Themselves justly excused from performing any of their Engagements.—— Though a Year is already elaps'd, We do not hear that they have yet so much as nominated *Commissaries* on their Part, for adjusting the Reparation stipulated to our plundered Merchants.—— The Effects of the *Flota*, which arriv'd long since, are still detain'd; and the great Fair in *new Spain* is, by particular Management, appointed to be held so long before the usual Time, that it is very much doubted whether the new *South-Sea Ship*, which was built and laden at so great an Expence to the *Proprietors*, will arrive there soon enough to dispose of her Cargo; or what Treatment she may meet with, even supposing she should arrive in Time.—— As to *Gibraltar*, one Objection to the *Treaty* was, that the *Spaniards* were not obliged specifically to renounce all Pretensions to that Fortress; and though the Writers against us very stiffly asserted the Sufficiency of the Provisions for this Purpose; yet the subsequent Proceedings of the *Spaniards*, in cutting off all Communication with the Garrison, and erecting Forts to annoy the Town and Harbour, are a sufficient Confirmation of our Apprehensions.—— Lastly, if any Credit may be given to repeated Intelligence, both publick and private, both foreign and domestick, there have been some Differences between the Allies of *Seville*, concerning the Plan of Operations against the *Emperor*, in Case of a War. The *French*, according to all Accounts, have discovered an Inclination to press Him in *Flanders* and upon the *Rhine*, as it was natural to suppose They would; and *Spain* seems disposed to concur with them in this Scheme; for every Body knows that the favourite Point at that Court is the *Italian Succession*, which the Queen will spare no Pains to obtain, at any rate, and without any Regard to the Rest of *Europe*. The *Dutch* and *English*, on the other Hand, can never concur

in such a measure, without resolving to undo the Work of two bloody and expensive Wars and destroying that Barrier, which They have spent so many Millions to establish. In this Situation of Affairs, *some of the Allies* are said to have cast their Eyes towards *Vienna*, and to have made some Overtures to that Court. All our Advices from the *Hague*, for a Month or two past, have hinted very plainly at such a Negotiation; and three Weeks ago, long after this Report took Air and was generally believed, We published an *Extract of a Letter* from thence, containing some Reflections upon this Report, without asserting the *Truth* of it. This hath drawn down the Resentment of *Power* upon us; and consequently the *Creatures of Power* think Themselves obliged to justify the Proceedings of the secular Arm against, what is call'd, the *Licentiousness of the Press*.

Now if this Article of News is *libellous*, or *criminal*, it must be so either with Regard to some *Facts*, said to be alledg'd in it, or the *Reasoning* upon them. — I will make a short Remark upon *both*, with the utmost Impartiality.

One of these *Implements of State* charges the Author of the *Hague Letter* with downright *Lying*, and says that We may be punish'd for it on the *Statute, as Spreaders of false News*. — In Answer to This, I observe;

First, that nothing is laid down, in this Letter, as *Fact*, but all the Reasoning in it is founded on a general Report, and on the Supposition only of the Truth of it. The *Author* begins with saying that a Rumour hath been, for some Time, spread abroad; and takes particular Care to repeat, in several Parts of his Letter, that He argues only upon a Report, and that He cannot take upon Himself to justify the Truth of it. — How therefore can We be punish'd as *Lyars*, or *Spreaders of false News*? According to my poor Apprehension, there can be no *Falshood*, where there is no *Affertion*.

But

But it will be said, perhaps, that the Truth of any Fact may be insinuated as strongly by way of *Supposition*, as by *Affertion*; and therefore that it may be criminal to argue upon *Suppositions* of this Nature. I could prove that infinite bad Consequences, inconsistent with all *Liberty of writing*, would follow from the Establishment of such a Doctrine; but We will allow, for Argument's Sake, that the hypothetical Reasoning in the *Hague Letter* amounts to an Assertion that some Negotiations have been carried on at *Vienna*, not intirely consistent with *former Treaties*; and what then? Why, We are told that the *Proof* of it lies upon us, and that We are justly punishable as the *Spreaders of false News*; unless We can make the *Truth* of it appear. This seems plausible and specious enough at first Sight; but I wish *this Writer* would inform us what Sort of *Proof* will be requir'd; whether the concurrent Testimony of repeated Advice from abroad, and the apparent Tendency of Affairs will be thought sufficient; or whether it will be expected that We should produce Witnesses, who can prove the Particulars of these Negotiations *viva voce* before the Court. I take This to be a material Question; for I think it will be no difficult Matter for us to justify ourselves, in the *former Case*; but in the *latter*, I confess myself a little apprehensive that We shall be somewhat deficient in our Vouchers; unless the *Secretaries of State* will be so good as to submit Themselves to an Examination upon *Oath*; or We can prevail upon some of the *Imperial Ministers*, who are in the Secret of Affairs, to come over and be Witnesses for us.

I will add, that if we should be convicted and punished, as *Spreaders of false News*, for want of *such Kind of Evidence* to support what We have published; it will create a *Precedent*, which may be made use of to destroy all *News-Papers* whatsoever (except the *Gazette*) and will render any *Law to restrain the Press* absolutely needless; for what Author can take upon

Him

Him to produce any other Evidence of what passes in the secret Cabinets of Princes, than the general Belief of Mankind, founded on probable Intelligence and the outward Appearances of Affairs? — I will explain my Meaning by a particular Instance of a Case, in which the *Craftsman* and one of the *Writers against him* are equally concerned.

The Reader will find the following Article of *foreign News* in the *London Journal*, as well as in the *Craftsman*, of *Saturday* last; viz.

Extract of a private Letter from Paris.

“ We are assured that, after the holding of an extraordinary Council at *Marli*, Orders were issued for filling the Magazines of the Places upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*; and it is generally believed that, as soon as the Season will permit, We shall begin the Operations on *that Side*; and the rather, because there is already a great Number of Troops, and more are filing off that Way every Day.

I will leave any impartial Man to judge whether this Paragraph, which is said to be an *Extract of a private Letter from Paris*, is not liable to the same Exceptions as That from the *Hague*. Might it not be suggested that *this pretended Letter*, as well as the other, was forged at home to alarm the People with groundless Jealousies of our good *Allies*, as if They had a Design of *breaking into Flanders*? And if We were to be called upon to prove the Truth of our Intelligence, does not every Body see the Difficulty of doing it? How could Mr. *Osborne*, or I prove that any extraordinary Council was held at *Marli*, or what was the *Result* of their Deliberations? I mean, by such minute, circumstantial Evidence, as is sometimes required in a Court of Justice, when the Nature of the Case will admit of it. — It cannot be forgot that We were once obliged to prove that Sir *Thomas Lombe* was alive, at that Time, and *Sheriff*
of

of London. The Notoriety of the *Fact* was not judged sufficient, without a *particular Affidavit*, which was easily obtained; but the Negotiations of Princes are not capable of the *same Kind of Proof*; and general Reports have always been thought a sufficient Foundation for *Enquiries* of this Nature.

We cannot therefore entertain the least Apprehension that such Difficulties will be laid upon us, notwithstanding the pitiful Suggestions of some *abandoned Writers*; or that any Methods will be taken to punish us, which tend to destroy all Freedom of Writing, and even of Conversation upon publick Affairs; for a Man is liable to be prosecuted as a *Publisher*, or *Spreader of false News*, by speaking as well as writing. Nay, there are *Precedents* for it too; and nobody can be ignorant with *what sort of Persons* most Coffeehouses, Taverns and other Places of Resort are too often infested; so that every Gentleman must take great Care what He utters, in the Freedom of his Heart, upon these Subjects, if such worthy Doctrines should be established.

To sum up this Head in a very few Words. Besides the Accounts, which have been repeated in all the publick Prints, for several Weeks together, concerning a *Negotiation at Vienna*, the Author of a Pamphlet, intitled *Considerations on the present State of Affairs*, &c. talks of *certain Conditions, which the Allies of Hanover may grant the Emperor before the Time of Action approaches*; and his Majesty Himself is generally understood to allude to this Project in his Speech from the Throne; where He speaks of *Those, who may be disposed, before the Season of Action is come, to prevent, by an Accommodation, the fatal Consequences of a general Rupture*.

Thus stands our Case, with Regard to the *Fact* in Dispute; and I hope it appears, from what hath been said, that We are not the *Spreaders of false News*; or, at least, the *Authors* of it, if it should prove false. But, perhaps, it may be thought that

our

our Correspondent from the *Hague* hath commented upon it with too much Freedom. — I have partly consider'd this Objection in a *former Paper*; and therefore shall be very short upon it in This.

Here likewise We must put the Reader in Mind that all the Reflections in the *Hague Letter*, upon this Subject, are founded only on the *Supposition of the Truth of the Fact*; and what have We publish'd, on *that Supposition*, which does not naturally result from it? — We have repeated our Acknowledgment that a Reconciliation at *Vienna* is the most eligible, the most desirable Measure; but We have, at the same Time, express'd our Apprehensions indeed that it may be attended with very great *Difficulties*; and who can be so blind as not to see them, in the present Circumstances of *Europe*? — Will any Body say, that an Accommodation with the *Emperor* was not more practicable before the Treaty of *Seville* was concluded; which hath involv'd us in Counter-Engagements, and put his *Imperial Majesty* to a vast Expence? — Do not even the Writers, on the *other Side*, allow that the Treaty of *Seville* hath involv'd us in some *Difficulties*? — Does not the Author of the *London Journal* very plainly insinuate that there are some Differences between the *Allies*, concerning the *Manner of putting it in Execution*? — Does he not suppose that one of the *Allies* might insist upon executing it in such a Manner, as was neither necessary to carry on the grand Design of that Treaty, and might be, at the same Time, inconsistent with the real Interest of the other *Allies*? Does He not defend his *Master* from the Charge of deserting *Allies*, upon this *Supposition*, and call upon us, with his usual Sagacity, to shew that the English Ministry governs all Europe, and are the Cause of all Events; that our Court does all Things, and the Courts abroad do nothing? — By the Way, what an unreasonable Man is This, to put such a difficult Proof upon us? Did We ever suggest that the *English Ministry governs all Europe*; or

that the *Courts abroad do nothing*? I think it is very well for them, if They can govern *all England*; and, perhaps, it may be thought very wise Conduct, to let the *Courts abroad govern the rest of Europe*.

But what We must chiefly insist upon is, that We have as much Right to reason upon *Suppositions*, as Mr. Osborne; and to censure the Conduct of *Ministers*, as He hath to approve it; for unless this Right is reciprocal, the *Liberty of the Press* is no Liberty at all. — His judicious Fellow-labourer, Mr. *Walsingham*, is pleas'd to allow that We have a Right to reason upon *political Affairs*, though not to lay down *false Facts*; so that if We have asserted no *Falshoods*, We have only exercis'd the natural Right of every *free Briton*.

It ought to be consider'd farther that most of the Reflections, which have given so much Offence, are only just Recriminations against *those Persons*, who have branded the Majority of the Nation, for several Years past, with the Appellation of *Germanized Patriots*, for having recommended the Renewal of our old Alliance with the *Emperor*, which They now seem to think the most desirable Measure themselves.

It is very remarkable that when We formerly confin'd ourselves to *general Topicks*, these Writers exclaim'd against that Method as *fallacious*, and defy'd us to mention *Particulars*; whereas when we come to *Particulars*, They roar out aloud that such Usage is not to be borne, and call upon the civil Power to *knock us down*, because They cannot *answer us*!

This is a Vindication of myself, which I owe to the Publick, as a publick Writer, for what I have communicated to them. If We should be call'd upon to defend ourselves in a *Court of Justice*, We must submit to the *Law* and abide the Judgment of our *Country*, after a full Hearing of the Merits on both Sides. D



N^o 242. SATURDAY, *Feb.* 20, 17³⁰/₃₁.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



IF Queen Elizabeth considered every foreign Interest relatively to the Interest of England, She considered likewise every Measure to be taken in foreign Affairs relatively to the Situation of England.

This we establish as the *second general-Head*, to which the particular Instances of her Wisdom and Address, in the Management of foreign Affairs, may be properly reduced.

She considered Herself as Queen of a Country cut off from the *Continent*, and separated by the *Sea* from all other Countries, except *Scotland*. Her Conduct therefore towards *Scotland* was very different, in many Respects, from That, which she held towards every other Nation. — A due Observation of these different Principles, on which Queen Elizabeth proceeded in the *divided State* of our Island, may serve to set, in a stronger and clearer Light, that single Principle, which remains to be followed in our *united State*.

The Situation of an *Island* affords great Advantages, when they are wisely improved; and when they are neglected, as great Disadvantages may result from this very Situation. — The Reign, now before us, is a glorious and unanswerable Proof that the *Halcyon Days*, so much boasted of, and so seldom found, Days of Prosperity, as well as Peace,

may be enjoyed in an *Island*, whilst all the neighbouring *Continent* is filled with Alarms, and even laid waste by War. But our own Histories will shew us likewise, how an *Island* may approach, as it were, too near the *Continent*, and be fatally drawn into that great Vortex. Lest we should ramble too widely in the large Field, which opens itself, let us confine our Reflections to some of those different Means and Objects, either of *Defence*, or of *Offence*, which Nature, improved by Art, presents to People, who inhabit *Islands*, or to People, who inhabit the *Continent*, according to their different Situations. A powerful *Navy* is of indispensable Necessity to the former of These. Without, it They must be poor and exposed. With it, They may be rich and secure. Barriers of *fortified Towns*, and great *standing Armies* are of the same Necessity to the latter. Without this Security, They lye open to every Inroad, and at the Mercy of every Neighbour. With it, They may be safe from foreign Danger, and even terrible to Those, who live round them. But then as the *Sea* is a Barrier of no Expence, and as a *maritime Force* carries no domestick Danger along with it, but enriches the Community it defends, so a *fortified Barrier*, and a *regular Army*, which are necessary to secure a Nation situate on the *Continent* against foreign Danger, carry great domestick Inconveniencies, and even Dangers too, along with them. Both of them like Armour, too heavy to be borne, waste the Strength of Those, who are covered by them; and an *Army* like a *Sword*, which recoils on the Blow, may wound the *Constitution*, it was meant to defend. — But farther; as particular Families, by uniting together, formed larger Societies, for their common Defence, and gave Rise to the Kingdoms, and States, which have appeared in the World; so these larger Societies have, ever since, found it necessary, or advantageous, to unite together in various manners; sometimes by an entire Union, or an Incorporation of different People

People into one Body politick; sometimes by a partial, or federal Union of distinct States in one common Cause; and at all Times by *Alliances*, made on particular Occasions, and suggested by a real, or seeming *Conformity of Interests*. This occasional Union by Alliances with other States, of which alone we are to speak in this Place, is so necessary to all the Nations on the *Continent*, that even the most powerful cannot subsist without it; and Those, who manage it best, are accounted wisest. Their several Interests are the Objects of their Alliances; and as the former are subject to change, the latter must vary with Them. Such Variations, whether occasioned by the Course of Accidents, or by the Passions of Men, though made by a few, will affect many; because there always are, and always must be, Systems of *Alliances* subsisting among these Nations; and therefore, as a Change in some of the *Parts* of one System necessarily requires a Change in all the *rest*; so the Alteration of *one System* necessarily requires an Alteration of the *others*.

Thus are They always tossed from *Peace* to *War*, and from *War* to *Peace*. Perpetual Negotiation is the Life and Soul of their Governments. Their Well-being, nay their Safety at *home*, requires that They should be always busy *abroad*. It is necessary for them to be *Mediators*, *Arbitrators*, or, which is infinitely worse, *Guarantees*; to be contracting Parties in *preliminary*, *provisional*, or *explanatory Treaties*; in *defensive*, or *offensive Alliances*; by which Means, They get over daily Difficulties, by the Multiplication of lasting Incumbrances.

The interfering and clashing of their Rights and Pretensions, and the various Obligations, by which They stand bound to one another, appear to be and are the immediate Causes of all these Disputes and Contentions. But the principal and remote Cause arises from the Proximity and other Circumstances of their Situations. That Necessity, or Advantage;

which gave Occasion to the original Engagements, has maintained and multiplied them since ; and the last would not be reasonable, if the first had not been necessary.

Here then arises an essential Difference between those Objects, which are proper to the Policy of an *Island*, and Those, which are so to the Policy of the *Continent* ; a Difference greatly to the Advantage of the *former* ; the Circumstances of whose Situation not requiring so constant and intimate an Union with other States, either for Defence or Offence, render unnecessary a great Part of the Engagements, which prove such heavy and lasting Incumbrances on the *latter*.

An *Island* under one Government, advantageously situated, rich in itself, richer by its Commerce, can have no Necessity, in the ordinary Course of Affairs, to take up the Policy of the *Continent* ; to enter into the System of *Alliances* we have been speaking of ; or, in short, to act any other Part than That of a *friendly Neighbour* and a *fair Trader*. If an extraordinary Crisis happens on the *Continent*, which may endanger the Safety even of Those, who are separated from it, (such as we saw at the Beginning of the present Century) Self-Preservation will no Doubt determine Men, as is ought, to unite by stricter *Alliances* with those Powers, with whom They are occasionally united by a more immediate Interest ; but even in this Case, neither will *self-Preservation* require, nor good Policy suffer, that *such a People* should enter deep into the Quarrels, or involve themselves intricately, much less continually, in the political Schemes of the *Continent*. We pass over offensive Cases, because it is manifest that the People of an *Island* can have no Interest in making foreign Acquisitions ; and that therefore it would be absurd in Them to spend their Blood and Treasure in acquiring only for others ; or to *attack* any farther than is necessary to *defend*.

We confine ourselves to the Case of Defence before mentioned; and upon That we say, a People on the *Continent* may have Reason to engage as deeply in Defence of another Country, as if they defended the Walls of their own Towns, or the Doors of their own Houses; because another Country may be the sole Barrier of their own. But This can never be reasonably done by the People of an *Island*, who have another, and a better Barrier than any the *Continent* can form for them. *Such a People* are to look on their Engagements with other Countries, as on Outworks cast up in Haste, which may serve to defeat a weak Attack, or to delay and disappoint a strong one. But it would be the Height of Folly in them, even in one of those extraordinary Conjunctions, which we now suppose, to lay the whole Stress of their Defence here; to spend their Strength improperly; and to forego those Advantages, which Nature has given them.

The Nations on the *Continent* might teach them another Lesson. They are careful to employ every Advantage of their *Situation*; a *River*; a *Lake*; a *Ridge of Mountains*; and shall the Inhabitants of an *Island* neglect the *Sea*? Shall they do by Choice all, which other Nations are obliged to do by Necessity? Surely not; and if at any Time such a Conduct can be proved necessary to certain Purposes, we think it will result, from this Proof, that such Purposes should be laid aside, not that such Measures should be pursued.

These Reflections, with others of the same Kind, present Themselves naturally to Those, who consider the Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Events of her Reign. We may therefore conclude that they were, at least, some of the Principles of her Government.

How she formed, or rather how she protected, and aided a Party, already formed in *Scotland*, on Principles of *Religion* and *Liberty*, has been observed,

ved; as well as the Success of this Measure, by which the Troops of *France* were driven out of that Kingdom, and the Influence of *France* on the Government was either removed, or guarded against. To maintain and improve this Advantage, was the great Affair of her Life. *England* was, with respect to *Scotland*, like a Kingdom on the *Continent*, and Queen *Elizabeth* employed, with respect to *Scotland*, all the Policy of the *Continent*.

We find Her busy on that Side in almost every Page of her History; almost always negotiating, and always intriguing. A Friend, an Enemy, a Mediatix, an Umpire, a Guarantee, she play'd every Part, which might keep others from hurting *Scotland*, and *Scotland* from hurting Her. Her Armies were at all Times ready to march, and her Fleets to sail thither. As strict an Oeconomy as she practised every where else, she was profuse there; but her Profusion turned to Account, and therefore deserves another Name. There may be such Schemes, such Management, and such Success, as may render even the smallest Expence, Profusion; but Those of Queen *Elizabeth* were sufficient to justify the greatest. The secret Service of her Reign was private in *Transaction* and publick in *Effect*; not equally inscrutable in *Both*.

About the fourteenth Year of her Reign, she had brought the Affairs of *Scotland* to such a Pass, that she seemed to have nothing to fear from that Quarter. The Plots, in favour of Queen *Mary*, had been discovered; the Insurrections defeated; and the Duke of *Norfolk* executed in *England*. In *Scotland*, the same Party was broken. The Earl of *Morton*, a Man absolutely devoted to Queen *Elizabeth*, was Regent; the Castle of *Edinburgh* was taken; the civil War was finished with compleat Success; and she enjoyed great Tranquility; because, according to *Rapin's* Observation, she could now be only attacked by *Sea*; that is, she had now the whole Advantage of an *Island*.

This.

This happy State did not continue long without Interruption. *Morton* lost, and reassumed his Power; was disgraced, prosecuted, and at last beheaded. King *James* had taken very young the Government of his Kingdom; and young, as well as old, was governed by his Favourites. The Party of his Mother in *Scotland* did not indeed rise again, so as to give Queen *Elizabeth* any Umbrage. But his general Character and his Behaviour, on some particular Occasions, the Character of his Favourites, and the Intrigues they were known to carry on, obliged her to reassume, if she had ever laid it aside, and to pursue her antient Conduct towards *Scotland*. She pursued it to the End of her Reign; and although King *James*, when he had more Experience, and was better advised, kept such Measures with her, as were necessary to secure and to facilitate his Succession; yet this wise Queen continued to give quite another Attention to the Affairs of *Scotland*, than she gave to Those of any other Country; or would have given to These, if *Scotland* had been divided from *England* by the Sea.

It is impossible to make these Reflections, and not to reflect, at the same Time, on that happy Change, which the *Union* of the two Kingdoms has brought about. We are now one Nation under one Government; and must therefore always have one common Interest; the same Friends, the same Foes, the same Principles of Security, and of Danger. It is by Consequence now in our Power, to take the intire Advantage of our Situation; an Advantage, which would make us ample Amends for several, which we want, and which some of our Neighbours possess; an Advantage, which constantly attended to, and wisely improved, would place the *British* Nation in such Circumstances of Happiness and Glory, as the greatest Empires could never boast. Far from being alarm'd at every Motion on the *Continent*; far from being oppress'd for the Support of foreign
Scheme;

Schemes; we might enjoy the securest Peace, and the most unenvied plenty. Far from courting, or purchasing the *Alliances* of other Nations, we might see Them suing for Ours. Far from being hated or despised, for involving ourselves in all the little Wrangles of the *Continent*, we might be loved and respected by all Those, who maintain the just Balance of *Europe*, and be formidable to Those alone, who should endeavour to break it.

Having made these few Reflections on that Part of Queen *Elizabeth's* Policy, which regarded *Scotland*; it is necessary that we should say something of That, which regarded the Nations on the *Continent*. Now with These it is plain she took the fewest Engagements she possibly could, and shunned as industriously the Occasions of mingling her Interests and Counsels with theirs, as she sought the Occasions of mingling both with Those of *Scotland*.

We believe, upon very good Grounds, that Periods of four or five Years might be pointed out, in which this Nation has been a Party to more *Treaties*, than were made by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Course of forty-five Years; and yet we presume it will not be easy to shew, that this Nation had more imminent Dangers to avoid and more formidable Powers to resist; or that such Ends were attained with greater Glory and Success at These, or any other Periods, than in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Let us descend into some Particulars.

With the *northern Crowns* she kept in Terms of Amity, and good Correspondence; and had some Negotiations with That of *Denmark*, concerning the Interests of her Subjects in Trade. The same Interests drew Her into Negotiations with the *Muscovite*, and she found Means to conduct them to her great Advantage,

The Settlement made in *Germany*, a little before the Abdication of *Charles the fifth*, continued. The Protestants were quiet there, and desirous to remain so.

so. The general Interest of Religion did not call upon Her to look that Way; and it is evident, by the whole Conduct of her Reign, that she thought the particular Interests of her Kingdom very little concerned in Those of the *Empire*.

How attentive soever she might be to penetrate into the Councils of the Court of *Rome*, and to trace the Intrigues of the *Vatican* from their Source; she bore no Part whatever in the Affairs of *Italy*.

In short, as all the Measures she took in foreign Affairs were considered relatively to the Situation of *England*, she had nothing to do in the much greatest Part of the Business of the *Continent*; and she was so far from entring into Engagements by *Treaty*, that she was scarce ever concern'd in Negotiations about it. In *France*, *Spain*, and the *low Countries* she had more to do; but even there the Part she took was strictly no more, than the Security and Welfare of her own Kingdoms required; and she acted it in no other Manner, than was suitable to the Situation of *England*.

The State of *Scotland*, of *Ireland*, and for some Time of *England* itself, gave her just Reason to apprehend that the *French*, or *Spaniards*, or both, might get Footing there. Each of These had, at different Times, Pretensions of their own to her Crown. The Cause of *Mary Queen of Scotland* afforded them, for a long Time, both Pretence and Opportunity; and the united Force of the Roman-Catholick Party was, at all Times, ready to support their Enterprizes. *Spain* was the greatest maritime Power in *Europe*, and able to attempt the Invasion of *England*, even when *Queen Elizabeth* had been above thirty Years on the Throne, and had raised her Navy from the low Condition, in which she found it. In a Word, the whole Coast, from the Streight of *Gibraltar* almost to *Jutland*, belonged to *France* and *Spain*. Such Circumstances formed a Conjuncture, wherein these two Powers had Advantages against Her, which they could

could have had in no other; and if she was obliged to act towards Them in a different Manner from what she did towards the other Powers of the *Continent*, it was because she stood exposed to lose, at least in Part, with Respect to Them, the Advantages of her *Situation*.

How she acted towards them, has been observed already. She amused them and eluded their Designs by the most artful Series of Management. She sought no *Alliances* against them with other Nations; and though she did not fail to abet and support the Insurrections of their Subjects, yet even with These she was cautious of entring into Engagements by *Treaty*. She did it with the *Huguenots* by a Treaty signed in 1562, which the Vidame of *Chartres* had negotiated. The Success of the Treaty, and the ungrateful Behaviour of the *Huguenots* to Her, confirm'd her in the Principle of depending little on *Allies*, and much on herself. She chose rather to assist when and where she thought fit, and to assist *gratis*, than to be tied down to the Consequences of constant Obligations, for the notional Advantage of reciprocal Engagements,

In the Year 1577 she began to take so intimate a Concern in the Affairs of the *low Countries*, that the most important Counsels and Resolutions of those States were communicated to Her; and she lent them an hundred thousand Pounds; yet it does not seem probable, that she entred so soon into a *formal Alliance* with them, though such an *Alliance* be mentioned by *Meteren*, as well as *Camden*, and inserted from the former in the *Collection of Treaties*.

In the Year 1585 the Clouds gather'd on every Side, and threaten'd Queen *Elizabeth* with that terrible Storm, Part of which fell upon Her, and Part of which she averted. She beheld *Philip* Master of *Portugal* as well as *Spain*. She beheld the Duke of *Guise* growing apace to be Master of *France*. She saw these two Princes closely united by Principles, which

which might continue in Force long enough to compleat her Ruin. She saw the *low Countries* almost quite reduced by the Arms of *Spain*; and the Protestants of *France* in the utmost Danger of being so by the *League*. Dangers from *Ireland*, and Dangers from *Scotland* impended over Her.

In such a Crisis more terrible, as we apprehend, than any, which has threaten'd this Nation since that Time, what was the Conduct of our heroick Queen? Did she immediately prepare to oppose these Dangers, by making *Alliances* on the Continent? Did she purchase Accessions to these Alliances? Did she raise Armies, and pay Subsidies abroad? Did she give Guaranties to every Prince and State, who ask'd them; and, in order to ward against one Danger, sow the Seeds of many? By no Means. She sent indeed Sir *Thomas Bodley*, to the King of *Denmark*, as well as to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and other Protestant Princes of the Empire, to procure a *League for Defence of their Religion*, says *Camden*; but this League does not appear, nor any other Effect of these Negotiations. As she was very saving of her Money, it is likely, says *Rapin*, that she did not employ the most proper Means to bring the Princes of Germany into her Interests. She secured herself by a great Deal of Management on the Side of *Scotland*. She assisted the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Cônde*, with Money and Ships; and the sole Treaty She made on the Continent was That with the States of the *low Countries*, concluded the 10th of *August* 1585 at *Nonesuch*. Her chief Dependance was upon her own Ability and Courage; upon the Affection and Zeal of her People. Neither failed her. Sure of being attacked, she began the Attack. Whilst *Cavendish* pillaged the Coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, she sent *Drake* to the Coasts of *Spain*, with Orders to burn all the Spanish Ships he should meet. Her Orders were executed with the Spirit, with which they were given. More than an hundred Vessels,

loaded with Provision and Ammunition, were burnt at *Gibraltar*. The *Spanish* Admiral was insulted at the Mouth of the *Tagus*, and the *Spaniards* were taken, or destroyed, even under his Eyes ; an Infamy so great, that the Suffering of it was scarce in Example before that Time. The Riches, coming from the *Indies* to *Spain*, fell into the Hands of the *English*. The Projects of *Philip* were disappointed in the Year 1587 ; and when the Invasion was attempted in the Year 1588, his Army was blocked up in the Ports of the *low Countries*, and his *invincible Armada* was beat, scattered and destroyed.

We have now gone through all we propose to say at this Time, concerning the Conduct of Queen *Elizabeth*, both at home and abroad ; concerning that Conduct, which, by convincing her People of her Goodness and her Wisdom, procured from them those large Returns of Gratitude, of Duty, of Affection and Zeal, the sole Foundations, on which she rested her Authority and her Security ; and the sole Foundations, on which they can be rested, suitably to the Nature of our Government. The Limitations, necessary to render *Monarchy* consistent with *publick Liberty*, must be many and great ; for which Reason, it has been objected to them that they took off from that Weight of Authority and restrained that Fulness of Power, which are many Times necessary to be exerted, even for the Good of the whole Community. If this Objection was well founded, it would be a sufficient Answer, to say that a few accidental Inconveniencies, which may happen, and which may be recompenced too, in Government, deserve not to be prevented, at the Expence of leaving *Liberty* perpetually exposed. But the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* proves, beyond Contradiction, that a Prince like Her will enjoy, at the Head of the freest People on Earth, all the Authority, and all the Power necessary to promote the joint Security, Prosperity and Glory of Prince and People ; so that all
the

the Objections, which can be raised on this Side to the *British* Constitution of Government, will center here; that it has not provided for strengthening and enlarging the Authority and Power of a weak or a wicked Prince.

A Prince, who never separates the Interests just mentioned, and who pursues them wisely, will have absolute Power in the most limited Monarchy. A Prince, who separates these Interests, turns Government itself into *Faction*; and the *Spirit of Liberty* will rise against him. An *arbitrary Government* is suited to any Character. A *free Government* requires a great, at least, a good One. In the *former*, all Kinds and Degrees of Power are in the Prince, or flow from him. In the *latter*, his Powers are limited and confined. When he wants to encrease, or extend them, he must derive the Faculty of doing so from his People; and from hence it follows, that as long as such a Constitution remains entire, and uncorrupted, the Prosperity, nay the Ease, and even the Security of the Government, will depend on the Disposition of the *People* towards the *Prince*; as the Disposition of the *People* will always depend on the Behaviour of the *Prince* towards the *People*. Queen *Elizabeth* saw these Truths in all their Force. She was both willing and able to proportion her Conduct to them. She never felt therefore any Want of Power. She was supported by the *Spirit of Liberty*; and she overcame That of *Faction*. Some of her Successors either did not see these Truths in all their Force, or were unable to proportion their Conduct to them. These Princes therefore felt the Limitations of our Monarchy like Shackles upon them. The *Spirit of Liberty* either opposed, or did not support them; and they nursed up a *Spirit of Faction* to the Ruin of themselves, of their Families, and almost of the Nation.

O.



N^o 243. SATURDAY, Feb. 27, 17³⁰/₃₁.

Discipulorum inter jubeo plorare Cathedras. Hor.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



Wonder you will ever give yourself the Trouble of answering such a stupid, old Novice as Mr. Osborne; or such an impertinent young Jackanapes as Mr. *Walsingham*. Indeed, Sir, They are too far beneath your Notice and disgrace your Pen. Pursue your learned Lucubrations, and leave these *trifling Adversaries* to the Correction of their *Equals*. I fancy myself able to encounter *such Writers*; and since you had once some Thoughts of setting up your little Nephew, *Jeoffry D'Anvers*, as an Author, I hope you will accept the Tender of my Service, having had my Education at the same School and been almost a Year at *Oxford*; where I have already pick'd up *Logick* enough to confute the common Run of your Adversaries. I am just come to Town to see my Friends, and happening to meet with the *London Journal* of this Day, in which that *Harlequin Reasoner* hath outdone all his usual Outdoings, I send you, *ad tentandam Facultatem*, a few cursory Remarks on that inimitable Piece of *Mock-Politicks*.

He begins with an Observation of Lord *Shaftsbury* that the English continued the longest Savages and were the latest civiliz'd of any Nation in Europe.—The Observation, perhaps, may be my Lord *Shaftsbury's*, because it is just; but I can hardly believe that

that He express'd Himself in such a Manner. That a Nation, which continued the *longest Savages*, should be *latest civiliz'd*, seems to be the profound Reasoning of Mr. Osborne Himself. It must be confess'd, indeed, that He hath some great Authorities on his Side; such as the following Line in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,

Omnia Pontus erant, deerant quoque Littora Ponto.

which the Criticks call *Tautology*; and They find the same Fault with the two first Verses of Mr. Dryden's *Indian Emperor*; viz.

*On what new, happy Climate am I thrown,
So long kept secret and so late made known?*

Mr. Osborne proceeds with his Observations thus; and a Man, who takes a View of our managing theological and political Disputes, would be tempted to think *We were Savages still*. ——— Very true; and certainly the Writers, on his Side, are the *dullest of all Savages*; a Kind of *wild Asses*, who make an hideous disagreeable Noise, and spurn the Dirt about them, but can do no other Mischief. When I see such a *brutish Writer* enter the Lists with Mr. Oldcastle, it always puts me in Mind of *Valentine and Orson*.

How ridiculous is it to hear such a foul-mouth'd Creature as This talk of *Politeness*; or complain of *personal Altercations*, and *drawing Characters*, without any Regard to Truth, or Decency? Does not all the World know who first began and still continue this infamous Practice, without Interruption? The Writers of the *Craftsman*, indeed, have been obliged to draw some Characters, and provoked into *personal Altercations*; but They observed, at the same Time, a Decency of Expression; and, whatever their Opinion might be, They did not call *Rogue* and *Rascal* in every Page, like the slovenly Daubers on the other Side; who seem to think themselves very severe, when

They are only *scurrilous*; and make no Distinction between *Billingsgate* and *Satire*; between *Ribaldry* and *Wit*; or between *Humour* and *Abuse*.

But what does Mr. Osborne mean by *national Controversies*, and debating what is for, or against the Good of the State? — Can He have the Vanity to think his dull Cavils at the Writings of the *Craftsman* a *national Controversy*? If any Fellow should be so void of Shame as to dispute whether *Black is Black*; or whether *Two and Two make Four*; does That render them disputable Points? Yet This, Sir, is exactly the Case of Mr. Osborne; who calls his own infamous Writings against the manifest Interest of the Nation a *national Controversy*; and so indeed it is, in one Sense; for, as He is against the whole Nation, the whole Nation is against Him. The People seem to know very well what is for, as well as what is against, the Good of the State; and let Him reason and debate (as He calls it) either warmly, or calmly, as long as He pleases, They will hardly be persuaded to alter their Opinions.

The next remarkable Passage, in this Paper, is where Mr. Osborne modestly calls Himself and his Associates (meaning, no Doubt, the *Free-Briton* and the *Flying-Post*) *Writers for the Government*. Lord, Sir, what a terrible Condition would the Government be in, if it had no better Advocates and Supports? But methinks, *Writers for Pensions and Places* is a Title, which would become these worthy Gentlemen much better than *Writers for the Government*; and it seems to be the greatest Insult upon their Patron, to be ashamed of the Honour, which He does them, and to fall in a Passion, whenever They are put in Mind of his Munificence.

These *Writers for the Government* (as They stile Themselves) are very angry with you, Sir, for calling them *Advocates of Power*, *Creatures of Power* and *Implements of State*, when you know in your Conscience (as Mr. Osborne assures us) that they are as
fully,

fully in the Sentiments of Liberty as any Men in the World. — Oh, no Doubt on't, good Men! and in the Practice of it too, I hope. They never defended any Minister, to be sure, in bad Measures; nor endeavoured to make their own Country subservient to the Interest of foreign Dominions. They have always scorn'd to plead for standing Armies, at home or abroad; or to vindicate Bribery and Corruption, as necessary Expedients of Government; or to argue against the Independency of Parliament. Who can charge Them with having ever attempted to ridicule the Honour of the British Flag; or to depreciate the Importance of Gibraltar; or to make a Jest of the Reparation of Dunkirk? Did They ever justify any Acts of Power against the Liberty of the Press; or endeavour to spirit up Prosecutions, which would be almost equal to any Restraint upon it? — No. They are candid, generous, impartial Gentlemen; who write the plain, honest Dictates of their Hearts, without any Reward, or Expectation of Reward. — I wonder, Sir, how you could treat such unbiass'd, disinterested Patriots in so uncivil a Manner. Indeed, Sir, They don't deserve the Character of Court Tools, or Implements of State; for That implies that they are of some Use; whereas you cannot forget, that it was the Opinion of a Writer, on the same Side, that the Author of the London Journal was a worse Enemy to the Ministry than even the Craftsman Himself; and advised him, if He had any real Affection for their Interest, to cease writing; which was the only Way He was capable of serving them.

I know Mr. Osborne will be very angry with me for reviving this Passage; and it is certainly a most provoking Thing to be given up, in such a disdainful Manner, by his own Party; and to be stigmatiz'd as the worst Enemy to Those, whom, as in Duty bound, He is endeavouring to serve; but it is the unhappy Case of these Writers for the Government, (for indeed, Sir, I can't find in my Heart to call them

them *Implements of State*) that though They are all enraged at you for calling them *Blockheads*; yet each of Them, taken separately, seems to look upon his *Fellow Labourers* as such, and imputes your Success not so much to the *Strength of your own Arguments*, as to the *Weakness of your Adversaries*.

We now come to the *great Point*, upon which Mr. Osborne undertakes to shew the Profundity of his Reasoning; and He introduces it with such a pompous Parade, that it is enough to terrify a *young Beginner*; but since I have mounted the Stage with Him, I am resolved to go through the Weapons.

You insisted, Sir, that you had as much Right to reason upon Suppositions, as Mr. Osborne. — No, says Mr. Osborne, I'll shew that he hath not; for Osborne reason'd upon Suppositions, in Favour of the Government; (as a Writer for the Government ought to do;) but Mr. D'Anvers argued upon Suppositions to the Dishonour of the Government; and Reason will allow us to argue upon a Supposition, in Favour of a single Person, or a Kingdom, (I wish he does not intend them as *synonymous Terms*) but never against Them. — This Position is very near a-kin to another of the same Author; in which He asserted that the very same Words, which are a Libel upon the Government in your Paper, would be a Panegyrick upon it in the London Journal. — He goes on thus. It is highly dishonourable and unjust to argue for a Man's being a Villain and a perfidious Wretch, meerly from a general Report. — Why, indeed, it is a common Saying, give a Man an ill Character and hang him; but such a Writer as Mr. Osborne ought to have a better Memory; for did He not argue, some Months ago, in the same Paper, which I mention'd just now, that We ought to judge of a Writer from his general Character? Did He not produce many weighty Arguments to this Purpose; particularly that our Courts of Justice laid a Stress upon the Characters of

of Those, who are brought before them; and from thence infer that *what was a Libel in your Paper, would be a Panegyrick in his?* But, it seems, this Doctrine affects *Writers only*, whose *Characters* ought to condemn them; but We must not call a Man a *very bad Minister* (for I shall not use Mr. Osborne's favourite Words, *Rogue* and *Villain*) *meerly from a general Report*; that is, though He is generally believ'd and allow'd to be such. We may argue against *Writers*, nay, and punish them too, upon *Suppositions* and *general Reports*; but We must not argue upon *Suppositions* and *Reports* against *Ministers*, unless they run in his Favour. — See, Sir, what it is, to have a good Place at Court; which not only fills a Man's Pockets, but exempts Him from all the Inconveniencies, which attend a *bad Character*!

To support this exquisite Reasoning, He tells us a Couple of Stories out of *Livy* and *Plutarch*, which deserve a short Remark.

Livy, says He, *justly censures the Roman Consul, who, after the fatal Battle of Cannæ, acknowledged to the Deputies the Loss they had sustained; because it discouraged their Allies, and tempted them to join with Hannibal.* — This is an Argument, which will equally serve to justify Silence and Acquiescence under the *worst Measures* that any Minister can possibly be guilty of; (as you, Sir, have often observed;) because it may encourage our *Enemies* and discourage our *Friends*. But it must be confess'd, in Honour of Mr. Osborne's Patron, that He hath not been guilty of *acknowledging our Losses*, under his excellent Administration. Nay, perhaps, I might add to the Compliment, that He hath done all, that lay in his Power, to *conceal them from the World*.

Mr. Osborne's next Piece of Learning is taken from *Plutarch*; who tells us of an Athenian, who was cruelly tortur'd for telling a Piece of News, pernicious and dishonourable to the Commonwealth, though it was true. — I could tell this Author of several
English-

Englishmen, in former Reigns, who have been as *cruelly tortur'd* for speaking the *Truth*; and these arbitrary Proceedings were recommended, not long ago, as proper Precedents to be put in Practice at present; though They had contributed to several Revolutions of Government, and the *Court*, which had been guilty of them, is abolish'd by Act of Parliament.

(The Sum of our *Author's* Reasoning is, that you must not argue upon *Suppositions*, nor general *Reports*, nor even upon *Facts*, which are *notoriously true*, it *They tend to disgrace the Government abroad and render it contemptible at home*; for Mr. Osborne will insist upon it that this *Disgrace* and *Contempt* proceed from your *Writings*, and not from the *Measures*, which occasioned them.

But what, Sir, will become of all your elaborate Arguments, in Defence of the *Liberty of the Press*, if you are so far from being allow'd to reason upon *Suppositions* and *Reports*, that you must not publish even what you can prove to be *true*, without running the Hazard of being *cruelly tortur'd*? Yet This is the Doctrine laid down by Mr. Osborne, (that *Writer for the Government*) whom you know to be as fully in the *Sentiments of Liberty as any Man in the World*!

Thus have We shewn, says He, that Mr. D'Anvers hath not the same Right to reason upon *Suppositions* as Mr. Osborne. — This is writing *Politicks*! What notorious *Trifling* and *Schoolboy Folly* is This? —

I chuse to retort his own Words upon Him. The Man cannot possibly get his old Employment out of his Head, before He was sent for out of *Norfolk*, from teaching *Grammar*, to puzzle his addle Head with *Politicks*; and therefore He hath always the Word *Schoolboy* in his Mouth; tho' if I had written as *bad Latin* at *Westminster School*, as He writes *bad English*, I know what would have been the Consequence. His Writings are full even of *false Grammar*, and every Paper is an Heap of such
loose,

loose, rambling, undigested, confus'd Stuff, that We may apply to Him what *Demipho* says to the two *Lawyers* in *Terence*; *fecistis probe. Incertior sum multo, quam dudum.*

Give me Leave, Sir, to take some Notice of a Passage or two more, in *this Paper*. — Speaking of the Treaty of *Seville*, He says, *as great a Paradox as it may seem, the only Way of agreeing with the Emperor for the future, was to displease Him for the present.* — Mr. *Osborne* is a great Lover of *Paradoxes*, and seems to have his old Profession in his Eye again. Whenever a Boy is whipt at School, his Master never fails to tell Him that it is for his Good, and so no doubt it is; but I am afraid the *Emperor* will think Himself too old for such Discipline, and take it a little unkindly to be treated like a *Schoolboy*. — I hope, Sir, you don't proceed upon the same *Paradox* with Mr. *Osborne*, and think the only Way to agree with his Patron for the future, is to displease Him for the present; though I think it would be full as good Policy.

Nothing seems to give this learned Reasoner more Uneasiness, than Mr. *D'Anvers's* smart- and pretty Things. He is continually complaining of them; and, indeed, it is natural enough for a Man, whom his own Party have given up for so dull a Fellow, that his *Panegyrics* are really *Satires* upon his Master, to be offended with every Stroke of *Wit*, or *Humour* in others.

Baotum in Terris, crassoque sub Aere natus.

The Conclusion of this Piece of Dulness is superior to all the rest. In order to justify the Publication of *foreign News*, upon the Credit of general Reports, and to shew the Difficulty of proving Particulars, you took Notice that both the *London Journal* and the *Craftsman* had inserted an Extract of a private Letter from *Paris*; in which it was said that

an extraordinary Council was held at Marli, and that some Resolutions were taken there, which look'd as if the French designed to begin Hostilities this Spring in Flanders. You then asked how either Mr. Osborne, or You could prove that any extraordinary Council was held at Marli; or what was the Result of their Deliberations? Upon which Mr. Osborne gives Himself an Air of being very angry, that you should be guilty of so much Insolence as to join his Name with yours, and purges Himself thus — What hath Mr. Osborne to do with the News in the London Journal? Mr. D'Anvers very probably composes the News in the Country Journal, because he lives by the Country Journal; (you see the Man reasons even here;) but Mr. Osborne lives without composing News for Printers. — I am glad of it with all my Heart; and hope He can live without writing any more such Trash for the Government. But what is it to the Purpose, whether He composed, or collected this Article from Paris? You did not charge him with it; nor do I hear that you, Mr. D'Anvers, are charged with writing the Hague Letter. All that I apprehend you to mean by it was, that the London Journal was as subject to a Prosecution as the Country Journal; and that the Persons concerned in it would lye under the same Difficulties, if a certain Gentleman should think fit to call upon them for Proof of the Truth of their Intelligence. Though Mr. Osborne (as He loves to call Himself) may not be answerable for the News in that Paper, one John Peele, who puts his Name at the Bottom of it, certainly is; and I have been told that this John Peele is a much older Offender against the Government than Richard Franklin, having long ago degraded Himself from a Bookseller into a Publisher, on Purpose to disperse Libels against the Ministry; nay, against the present Ministry, and in the very same Paper, which is now converted into a very loyal, inoffensive Journal, by such a Writer for the Government as Mr. Osborne!

I do not mention This, in order to draw down the Resentment of the civil Power upon *John Peele*, as *John Peele's* Writers endeavour to do upon poor *Richard Francklin*; who, I hope, hath more Generosity than to desire any Companion in his Misfortunes. I did it only to explain my Meaning to *Mr. Osborne*; for I think it mean and infamous in *Writers* to rely upon any other Weapons than their *Pens*; and when I see a Man, who pretends to reason, endeavouring to work up Prosecutions against his *Adversary*, I can compare Him to nothing but a cowardly *Schoolboy* (to use *Mr. Osborne's* favourite Allusion) who calls Names at a Distance; threatens to tell his *Master*, if you strike Him; and will not fight, unless his *Adversary* consents to have both his Hands tied behind Him. N

I am, S I R,

Your constant Reader, and humble Servant,

JOHN FRESHMAN.



N^o 244. SATURDAY, *March 6, 17³⁰/₃₁.*

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



THE Scene We are now going to open will appear vastly different from That, which We have just closed — Instead of an uninterrupted, pleasing Harmony of Government, We shall meet with a perpetual, jarring Dissonance; instead of Success and Glory abroad, Disappointment and Contempt; in-

stead of Satisfaction, Prosperity and Union *at home*, Discontent, Distress, and at last civil War will present Themselves to us in all their Horrors.

To consider this melancholy Change, and to shew from whence it proceeded (whether from the *Prince*, or from the *People*) is our present Business. That it was brought about and carried on by *Faction*, must not be denied. The sole Question will therefore be, *which was the factious Side?* Now to determine This, We need only enquire, *which Side* was for usurping on the *other*; which was for preserving and which for altering the establish'd Constitution of Government. On *this Point* the Question will turn; for in a Country of *Liberty*, in a *limited Monarchy*, whatever some Persons may think, or desire to have believed, it is certain that there may be *Faction for the Crown*, as well as *against the Crown*. The Reason is plain. There may be Conspiracies against *Liberty*, as well as against *Prerogative*. Private Interest may screen, or defend a *bad Administration*, as well as attack, or undermine a *good one*. In short, conspiring against any *one Part of the Constitution*, in Favour of *another*, or perverting, to the Support of national Grievances; the very Means, which were instituted to redress them, are destructive of the whole Frame of *such a Government*, and are the proper Characteristicks of *Faction*.

On which Side *Faction*, thus defined, is likely to be found the ofttest, and to act the most effectually, We shall not stay to examine here. They, who have read the first of Mr. Oldcastle's Letters, may remember what is there said, to shew the Difference between the Motives and the Means, which a *Prince* hath of usurping on his *People*; and Those, which the *People* have of encroaching on their *Prince*. We shall only observe, to our present Purpose, that as He, who confines his Notions of *Faction* to Oppositions made to the *Crown*, reasons, in an *absolute Monarchy*, in Favour of the *Constitution*; so He, who confines

confines them thus, reasons, in a *limited Monarchy*, against the *Constitution*; is weak enough to deceive Himself, or wicked enough to attempt deceiving others; and, in either Case, is thus far a Betrayer of *publick Liberty*. — On such Principles as These We said, in our last Paper, *that Government itself might be turn'd into Faction; and that some of Queen Elizabeth's Successors had nurs'd up a Spirit of Faction, to the Ruin of Themselves, of their Families, and almost of the Nation.* — We presume that This will appear, in the Course of our Enquiries, to be undeniably true; and that there will be as little Room to doubt whether the factious Conduct of the *Court*, in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles the first*, gave a Rise to all the Struggles between *Them* and their *People*, as there is Room to deny that the Destruction of our Constitution, in Church and State, was the dreadful Consequence of these Struggles. The *Spirit of Liberty* and the *British Constitution of Government*, whose Cause we are pleading, and whose Cause We are sorry there should be so much Occasion to plead, will therefore, We hope, remain clear of all Imputations.

We wish that this Justice could be done without opening Wounds, which are hardly yet intirely heal'd, and without arraigning the Conduct of *Princes*, whose Memories have been held in great Veneration by many worthy Persons; but since This cannot be; nay, since the opening of these Wounds may contribute to the more effectual healing of them; and since arraigning the Conduct of *these Princes* hath been render'd the more necessary by the Accounts, which have been given of it, and by the Principles, on which it hath been defended; We must speak with the same Liberty of *Them*, as We have used in speaking of *Those*, who reigned before Them.

The *Ægyptians* paid so much Respect to their very limited Monarchs, that when They meant to warn these Princes against *particular Vices*, They

commended them for *opposite Virtues*. We cannot persuade ourselves that this Method of reforming, or instructing, by *Panegyrick*, (the usual and most deadly Poison of *other Princes*) had a good Effect on Those of *Ægypt*. But however This might be, when these Princes were *dead*, notwithstanding the Respect shewn to them *living* *, They underwent the same Trial as the Custom of the Kingdom had establish'd for all *private Persons*, and funeral Honours were equally denied to *Them*, and to the meanest and most guilty of their *Subjects*, when their Memories were condemn'd, on a solemn and strict Examination of the Conduct They had held in Life.

Though We propose to enquire with all this Freedom; and though We are persuaded that the Result of these Enquiries will be a Confirmation of what hath been advanced by us; yet are We very far from admitting many of the Objections, which have been made to the Conduct of King *James* and King *Charles the first*. Much less do We approve those cruel Insinuations against Them, which are to be found in several *Invectives*, not *Histories*, dictated by a *Spirit of Faction*, not by the *Spirit of Liberty*. The *Spirit of Liberty* reflects on the Errors of Princes with *Sorrow*, not with *Triumph*, and is unwilling to aggravate what it wishes had never happened. — In the Temper, which *this Spirit* inspires therefore, We shall proceed. We shall dwell on no *Facts*, but such as We think uncontroverted; and shall make no *Reflections*, nor draw any *Consequences* from them, but such as arise naturally and without the least Force. — The Truth would not be so evident, as We presume it is in this Case, if any Thing more was necessary to the Illustration of it.

Amongst the many Advantages, which King *James* had, on his Accession to the Throne of *England*, We might very justly reckon the recent Example of his

* *Diodor. Sic. l. 2. c. 3.*

Predecessor. Her Penetration discovered the Consequences of that great Change in the *Ballance of Property*, of which We have spoken in our Papers of the 19th of *December*, and the 2d of *January*; and she accommodated at once the whole System of her Government to it, as We have there observed. — Whatever Doubts *she* might have entertained, concerning the Success of her own Measures, before she had experienced the happy Effects of them, King *James* could reasonably entertain none. Experience, as well as Reason, pointed out to Him the *sole Principle*, on which He could establish his Government with Advantage, or even with Safety; and Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign had every Year afforded Him fresh Proofs that *this Principle of Government*, which is easy in the Pursuit, is effectual in the End to all the Purposes, which a *good Man* and a *just Prince* can desire to obtain. But King *James* paid as little Regard to her *Example*, as He did to her *Memory*. In the *last Respect*, He was indecent. In the *other*, unwise. He boasted most ridiculously of an *Influence*, which He never had over her *Councils*. Happy would it have been for Him, for his Family, and for this whole Nation, if *her Example* had really had a due *Influence* over *his Conduct*; or, at least, if *his Example* had obtained less Influence over the Conduct of his *Successor*. — Fraught with Learning, not with Knowledge; ignorant of the true Principles of Government; more a Stranger to our Constitution by his Notions and his Habits of Thinking, than to our Country by his Birth; obstinate, though not steady; misled by Self-Opinion, and confirmed in Error by superlative Pedantry, King *James* the *first* seem'd to expect the *Love*, and to demand the *Obedience* of his Subjects, purely because the *Crown* had dropt on his Head. Whereas Queen *Elizabeth* seem'd, both by her Declarations and her Actions, to think Herself intitled to the *first*, and secure of the *last*, for no other Reason, than This; because she wore the

Crown to the greatest Advantage of her People. Her *good Sense* taught her what He had not found in his *Books*; that the Tyes between *Prince* and *People* are not the same with Those between particular Persons in *private Life*. These Persons converse and live familiarly together. Natural Sympathies therefore, more easily to be felt than described, may unite them, without the Motives of Gratitude, or Expectation. Those common, good Offices, which the Heart alone suggests, are often sufficient to maintain such Unions; and a Man, who is neither a *Saint*, nor a *Hero*, may hope to find and keep a Friend. But *publick*, or *political*, or *State-friendship*, by which We mean an intimate and affectionate Union between the *Governors* and the *Governed*, cannot be contracted without Gratitude, or Expectation, nor maintain'd without both. If it could; if Subjects were attached to their Prince by a Kind of Instinct, as hard to be accounted for, and yet as prevalent as the Sympathies We have mention'd; the Assertors of the *divine Right of Princes*, and of the *universal Obedience* due to them, would have had long ago a more plausible Argument than They have yet produc'd, in favour of their Doctrines. They would have been able to stop the Mouths of all Gainsayers; even of *Him*, who requir'd a Miracle to become their Convert; and who resolv'd never to believe that *Slavery was of divine Institution*, till he beheld *Subjects born with Bunches on their Backs, like Camels, and Kings with Combs on their Heads, like Cocks*; from which Marks it might be collected that the *former* were design'd to *labour and to suffer*, and the *latter* to *strut and to crow*. But till some such Miracle is wrought, or the Instinct suppos'd above is born with Men, We think it will remain true that the Union We speak of, between *Prince* and *People*, neither can, nor ought to subsist on any other Terms, than Those of good Government on *one Part*, and of Gratitude and Expectation on the *other*. — This Union may be,

and

and hath been, maintain'd by *absolute Princes* with their People; because it is not impossible that an *absolute Prince* should be a wise and good Man, and because some such there have been. But here lies a Difference. The *absolute Monarch* may exert the whole Power of the State. He may govern easily, safely, and with all other Advantages, though he neglects to cultivate this Union; or, which is worse, though He breaks it. But the Case of a *limited Monarch* is not the same, for the Reasons, which We touch'd upon, at the End of our last Paper. It is therefore the immediate, the personal, the highest Interest of such a Prince, as it is the Duty of every Prince, to contract this Union and to maintain it inviolate. The Wisdom of our Constitution hath made it so; and, in making it so, hath imitated that divine Wisdom, which appears in the Constitution of the moral World. In This, it may be easily proved from a Consideration of the Circumstances, in which We stand as Individuals, that the general Good of Society is the particular Interest of every Member. Our Creator design'd therefore that We should promote this general Good. It is by Consequence our Duty to do so; and every Man, who believes a wise, all-directing Mind, and who knows that proportioning of *Means* to *Ends* is essential to Wisdom, must subscribe to this Opinion.—— And yet, determin'd by false Appearances of Good, or attracted by the Force of immediate Objects, Men may, and They frequently do, imagine that They pursue their particular and separate Interest, whilst They neglect, or act against, the general and common Interest of Society.

In like Manner, King *James* the first and those *Princes*, who have trod in his Steps, imagin'd no doubt that They pursu'd a particular, separate Interest of *their own*, whilst they neglected an Union with their *People*, and even made such an Union impracticable, by transgressing, in Pretensions and in Fact,

the

the Bounds, which our Constitution prescrib'd to Them. But the Mistake is equal in both Cases; for in both Cases, *Interest* and *Duty* remain indivisibly united, however they may be separated in Opinion; and He, who sins against *one*, sins most certainly against the *other*; though the natural Consequences of his Actions do not appear immediately, nor on every Occasion, to follow.

These Consequences follow'd in a signal and terrible Manner upon the Occasions, which We have mention'd, and into the Particulars of which We shall descend some other Time. These Examples therefore are compleat. The *Causes* and the *Effects* come together under our View; and if We carry our Observations forward to later Times, We shall see *Causes* of the same Kind laid again, and producing *Effects* of the same Nature; *Effects* always proportionable to them; sometimes *Jealousy*, *Discontent*, *Tumult*; sometimes *open Resistance*, and *Deposition of the Prince*; for though, in all these Cases, the *People* have suffer'd, as well as the *Prince*; yet, in some, the *Prince* alone hath been undone; and thus, by an equal Distribution of Justice, the principal Share of the common Calamity hath fallen on *Him*, without whom no Part of it could have happen'd.

Though these general Reflections, which We have premised, may appear long to some of our Readers, and may seem too nearly ally'd to Reflections already made; yet We hope for Indulgence, on Account of the Importance of the Matter. It must surely be of Use to explain, very clearly, and very fully, from whence the Weakness of our Government, at some Times, and the Disorders and Revolutions of it, at others, have proceeded since *that* *Æra*, when our Liberties became better secur'd, and our Constitution capable of greater Improvements, by a new Settlement of the *Ballance of Property and Power*. No Point hath been more mistaken. None hath been more artfully misrepresented.

O.

To



N^o 245. SATURDAY, Mar. 13, 17 $\frac{30}{31}$.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

S I R,



O answer all the various Pamphlets, which this Winter hath produc'd against you, is unnecessary, and would therefore be ridiculous. Those, which had any Appearance of Reasoning, have been fully consider'd; and to expose all the loose, or scurrilous Trash, which hath been publish'd on that Side, would be only throwing away Arguments and wasting your Time. For this Reason, you have very justly despised *three of these Pieces*, (publish'd by those eminent ministerial Midwives Mess. Roberts and Peele) intitled, *a Defence of the Measures of the Administration, &c. a Letter to Caleb D'Anvers, Esq; on his proper Reply, &c. and some Observations on the present State of Affairs, &c.*——But as contemptible as all these Productions really are (and one of them deserves a much harsher Epithet) I desire you to accept of a few Observations on a Paragraph or two from each of them; and, if They do not intrude on more important Enquiries, to give them a Place in your Paper.

I shall begin with the *first*, which is only a dull Repetition of the same Assertions, that have been often confuted. Having inform'd us how our *present, excellent Ministers* have redeem'd us out of the worst Situation in the World into the most glorious and flourishing Condition, He sums up their Eulogium

gium in the following Words — “ But nothing was
 “ insuperable to the Genius of the *Ministers*. They
 “ rose above all the *Difficulties*, that surrounded them.
 “ They baffled the Attacks of their *Adversaries*, and
 “ broke and disappointed them in every Thing they
 “ went about.

“ And now, Sir, what a Figure do *these Gentle-*
 “ *men* make with you? View them from their first
 “ Entrance into Power. Consider the dangerous
 “ Men They have either *incapacitated*, or render’d
 “ *insignificant*, during their Administration; the
 “ suspicious, angry Minds They have *soften’d* and
 “ *won*; the Tricksters They have *circumvented*; the
 “ purse-proud Fools They have *humbl’d*; the well-
 “ meaning, good Men They have *kept steady*, and
 “ the vain and ambitious ones They have *kept*
 “ *under*.

I was, for some Time, at a Loss to comprehend the Meaning of all these Compliments; or how it was possible for *these Gentlemen* to triumph over so many dangerous Enemies of all Kinds; but the Mystery is partly unriddled by the *two other Writers* before-mention’d, who have been so kind as to explain these Arts of *softening*, and *winning*; of *circumventing*, and *humbling*; of *keeping steady* and *keeping under*. — Let us hear them then.

The *Letter Writer to you*, Mr. D’Anvers, having ask’d several, cholerick Questions, concerning some uncourtly Arguments, lately advanc’d, against *Members of Parliament holding Places and Pensions from the Crown*, proceeds thus.

“ But suppose Mr. D’Anvers had a *Parliament* to
 “ his Wish, what glorious Counsels might We ex-
 “ pect from an Assembly of *Foxhunters*? Who, that
 “ hath visited the remote Parts of *England*, and is
 “ acquainted with the Genius, the Education, and
 “ the Tempers of the greater Part of our *country*
 “ *Gentlemen*, could promise himself too much from
 “ the Conduct of *such Representatives*?

Methinks,

Methinks, this Reflection upon our jolly *British Foxhunters* is somewhat unseasonable, and not altogether judicious, at present; but the *Gentleman* is in a passion and forgets himself. It is generally observ'd that Persons of the same Turn of Mind are apt to cleave to one another; and, for my Part, I can see no Reason to apprehend that a *Foxhunting Parliament* and a *Foxhunting Administration* would not agree very well together.—But, to be serious, what is the natural Import of this Passage? Does it not carry too plain an Insinuation that *country Gentlemen*, of *landed Estates*, who pay the greatest Part of our *Taxes*, ought not to sit in the *House of Commons*, which was originally constituted of *such Persons*, as the most proper to redress the Grievances of the People and supply the Necessities of the Government? But, it seems, their *Genius*, *Education* and *Tempers* render them unfit for this Trust. What a Reflection is here upon the Majority of *English Gentlemen*? Some of them, perhaps, may deserve this Imputation; but I believe I may assert, that there is not a County in *England* without a sufficient Number of Gentlemen, properly qualify'd in every Respect to represent them in Parliament; or supposing it otherwise, let me ask this *testy Gentleman*, whether a *Pension*, or a *Place*, will exalt their *Genius*, improve their *Education*, or meliorate their *Tempers*?—No; He must have some other Reason for excluding *these Gentlemen* from Seats in Parliament; and, perhaps, We shall be no longer at a Loss for it, when We consider his *farther Interrogatories* upon this Subject, which run thus.

“ What could We expect less than to see our
 “ *Courtiers* and *Soldiers* turn'd out of the *Army*, as
 “ well as out of *Parliament*? What could a *Militia*
 “ *within Doors* produce less than a *Militia without*;
 “ and what could a Nation, defended by *such Counsels*
 “ and *such Arms*, apprehend from the *learned Coun-*
 “ *sels*, or *disciplin'd Forces* of any of its *Enemies*? —

It is easy to perceive for *what Persons*, and for *what Purposes* these Questions are calculated. As his Design, in the *former Paragraph*, was to shew the Expediency of *Places and Pensions*; so He endeavours, in *This*, to convince us of the Necessity of a *standing Army*; which He supposes would not be continu'd by a Parliament of *country Gentlemen*, and that a *Militia within Doors* would produce a *Militia without*. Now, whether *This* would be the Case, in some Measure, or not, He cannot be ignorant that *England* hath formerly made no inconsiderable Figure with *such Counsels* and *such Arms*, as much as He is pleas'd to despise them. But it seems the Times are alter'd; and, according to *this Writer*, the Nation will be utterly undone, unless We have an Army of *regular, disciplin'd Troops*, both *within Doors and without*.

You see, Sir, that the Sense of *these Gentlemen* begins to clear up; but whatever Doubts may remain will immediately vanish upon quoting a Passage or two from the *other Pamphlet* I mention'd; intitled, *some Observations on the present State of Affairs; by a Member of Parliament*. — Having given his Reasons for continuing the *Hessian Troops* in our Pay, He makes the following Reflections.

“ *This foreign Army* hath always given great Uneasiness, as well as our *standing Forces* at home.
 “ The *pretended Patriots* launch out in the boldest Manner upon this Head. They employ all their Rhetorick to convince the Publick that it is dangerous to our *Constitution*. They bring Examples out of antient and modern History to convince us of what We all know, that most *free Governments* have, with Time, degenerated into *absolute Monarchy*; and that one of the Causes of those *Revolutions* is generally an *Army*; but They are not so fair as to own the original Cause to be the *Corruption and Levity of the People*, which render an *Army* necessary. That is the *Distemper*; This is
 the

“ the *Remedy*; and though, without doubt, They
“ are both very terrible; yet the Misfortunes, that
“ at length fall upon a Country under these unhappy
“ Circumstances, should not be ascrib'd to the Bad-
“ ness of the *Medicine*, but to the Violence of the
“ *Distemper*, which it is not in the Power of Man
“ to cure; for *political*, as well as *natural Bodies*,
“ are subject to *Changes*, and have each their *Pe-*
“ *riods*.

“ In short, to be plain, *our Country* is in this de-
“ *clining State*; and We must, in Time, expect the
“ *same Fate* that all Governments have had. *We are*
“ *all corrupted and deprav'd, and We cannot hope to*
“ *disperse the impending Storm*. We can only propose
“ to *avert it for a Time*. Our only Way to do This
“ is to maintain a *STANDING FORCE*.

This *worthy Senator* is very explicit, and scorns to mince Matters. He allows that *standing Armies* are dangerous to *our Constitution*, because they have destroy'd the Constitution of most *other free Governments*; and yet he pleads for *standing Armies*. He tells us, without any Disguise, that *our Country* is in such a *declining State* of Health, that We have no *Hopes* of her Recovery, and can only propose to patch Her up for some Time longer; in other Words, such is the *general Depravity* of the Nation, that the Administration of Affairs is grown impracticable without *Corruption*; and that a *standing Army* is necessary to support *Corruption*.——

It is added indeed, by this scribbling Legislator, that *it ought to be as small as one as is consistent with the publick Security*. —— What *publick Security* does He mean, when the Ruin of our *Constitution* is so near at Hand; or what *Security* can We be suppos'd to receive from a *standing Army*? It may be, perhaps, a *Security* to the *Minister*; but, by his own Way of Reasoning, it is design'd as a Bridle upon the *People*, who cannot be rul'd any longer without it.

I will leave it to the Consideration of that profound Reasoner, Mr. Osborne Himself, whether such infamous Doctrines as These do not make it necessary to plead the Cause of the British Constitution; and whether every Englishman hath not great Reason to be sorry, as well as Mr. Oldcastle, that there is so much Occasion to plead it. I hope He will allow that if our Case is grown so very desperate, it is high Time to rouse up a Spirit of Liberty, and to exert our utmost Endeavours to disperse the impending Storm. Surely, a brave People ought not to be content with proposing to avert such a terrible Evil for a Time; but to avert it, as far as they are able, from all succeeding Generations.

Why should Rome fall a Moment e'er her Time?

No, let us draw her Term of Freedom out
In its full Length, and spin it to the last.

So shall we gain still one Day's Liberty;

And let me perish, but, in Cato's Judgment,

A Day, an Hour of virtuous Liberty,

Is worth a whole Eternity of Bondage.

Mr. Osborne may perceive from hence that you have no Occasion to screen yourself, if you should be press'd, by saying that you meant nothing against the present Times; I mean against the Writers of the present Times; or even against the present Ministers, if this melancholy State of our Case were really true, that Corruption, Dependency and a standing Force are become necessary to keep the People quiet under a declining and, as They represent it, even a falling Constitution.

For my Part, I cannot agree with these Writers, that the Nation is yet in such deplorable Circumstances. Corruption and Depravity are, God knows, grown too prevalent amongst us; but I hope the Distemper is not incurable; or even so inveterate as to require such a desperate Remedy. I firmly believe that

that We may preserve ourselves by *those Methods*, which have often preserv'd us, and are still in our Hands.

I shall say nothing of the *Bill*, which hath lately pass'd the *House of Commons*, to prevent *Corruption*; because it may be decided in the *other House*, before this Letter can see the Light; and therefore any Arguments in its Favour will be useless and, perhaps, thought improper; but I hope the Publick will shew a just Indignation against those *scandalous Writers*, who have discover'd their Readiness to give up the Cause of *Liberty*, and the *best Constitution of Government* in the World, for the Sake only of a SINGLE MAN, in whose Service They are venally engag'd. A

I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader and humble Servant,

Saturday, Feb. 27,

1729-30.

JOHN ENGLISH.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

SIR,

I Was an Officer in the *English Army*, during all the last War in *Flanders*, and though I have for some Time been out of the Service, I still retain that Affection for my Fellow-Soldiers, (even the meanest of them) which our common Dangers naturally inspir'd. For this Reason, I was very well pleas'd to see, -in the Votes, an Instruction to the *Committee*, who are to sit upon the *Mutiny Bill*, to receive a Clause for *limiting the Time*, which every common Soldier shall be oblig'd to serve in the Army. This tender Regard for such Numbers of poor Wretches, who may have been deluded, when in Liquor, or driven by Misfortunes into the Service, is an Act of

Humanity well-becoming Those, who are chosen to be Conservators of the *British* Liberties.

I have not Time to enlarge upon the Reasonableness and Advantages of such a *Limitation*; but I will give you a few general Hints.

Armies are always dangerous, when They are severed, as it were, from the rest of the Community, by living under *different Laws*; for how can it be expected that an *Army* should have any Regard for the *Liberties of the People*, unless They enjoy the same Blessings themselves; and how can They be said to be upon the same Foot with their Fellow-Subjects, whilst They are bound to a State of Servitude, during Life?

I believe, there is no Country in *Europe*, except our own, in which the Time for *serving in Arms* is not limited; and is it not somewhat strange that in a Nation, which enjoys the greatest Portion of *Liberty*, any Part of the Subjects should be depriv'd of it for ever?

Even *Felons* are transported only for a *certain Term of Years*; and shall Those, who run the greatest Hazards in our Service, be in a worse Condition than the *worst of the People*?

This Hardship upon them is only of modern Date; for the Time of Service was *limited* in the *late War*; and as no ill Consequences attended it then, why should We be afraid of any in Times of *Peace*?

I apprehend, on the contrary, that it would be a Benefit to the *Officers*, as well as the *Soldiers*. It would certainly, in a great Measure, prevent *Desertion*, and save the Expence of *Recruiting*, *new Cloathing* and *Arms*, as well as the Lives of many *British* Subjects; for who would run the Hazard of losing his Life by *deserting*, when he is intitled to his *Freedom*, at the Expiration of a short Term of Years?

It wou'd likewise be of Service to the Government; for is it not much better to have the *Hearts* of Those, who fight for us, than only their *forc'd*
Service?

Service? Besides, such a Rotation in the Army, as this Clause would create, might serve to discipline most of our fighting Men, and turn the Nation into a Sort of *regular Militia*; since Multitudes of Men might be willing to take their Turn in the Service of their Country, who dread the Thought of being chain'd down, like the Slaves in *America*, to drudge in the same Mine for Life.

I hope therefore that this gracious Intention of the *House of Commons* will be soon pass'd into a Law; and that *no Man* will think it necessary for the *British Soldiery* to be upon a worse Foot than the *Soldiers of other Nations*, or than They were Themselves, during the *last glorious War*. N

I am, SIR, &c.

Thursday, March 4.

1729-30.

TILBURY.



N^o 246. SATURDAY, Mar. 20, 17 $\frac{30}{31}$.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



WE have observ'd already of how great Advantage the Example of *Queen Elizabeth* might have been to *King James the first*. It might have taught Him to struggle through the most intricate Difficulties. But He had none such to encounter, till He created them by his own Management. — On the contrary, his Accession to the Throne of *England* was accompanied with all the favourable Circumstances of Ease and Security, which

B b 3

were

were necessary to form a Conjunction proper for Him; so that with Abilities, much inferior to Those of his Predecessor, He might have reign'd as gloriously abroad, and as happily at home.——Many of the Difficulties and Dangers, which surrounded Her, were personal to Her. They arose from her *Birth*; from her *Title*; and from *That*, which *Mary Queen of Scotland* pretended. They therefore ceas'd with Her. Many others she had conquer'd by a wise and steady Administration. Many had been worn out by Length of Time; and many had been so chang'd by the Course of Events, that King *James* was safe, where she was most in Danger; and strong, where she was weakest.——His *Title* was not contested; nor any Opposition, either open or secret, given to his Succession. They, who had founded so high the Right of his *Mother*, could not refuse to acknowledge the same Right in Him; and the rest of the Nation submitted to it; for how little Regard soever many of them might pay to this Right in their Hearts, or how great Suspicion soever of his future Conduct might be justly infus'd into Them by his past Behaviour, the People would have a *King*, and there was no other Prince, in whom the *Protestant Interest* could unite at that Time.——That Riddle of a *Plot*, in which Sir *Walter Raleigh* was involv'd, does not deserve to be mention'd, as an Exception to the national Unanimity We speak of.——True it is that, in other Respects, the Nation was far from being united, either by a Conformity of Opinion, or by an Acquiescence of Those, who differ'd from the Establishment.——It was, no doubt, a severe Misfortune, and such it continues to this very Hour, that the great and glorious Work of the *Reformation*, being carried on at different Times and in different Places, was carried on likewise without a general Concert. The several Churches reform'd Themselves, according to the different Circumstances They were in, and according to the different Characters
of

of the *Few*, who led the *Many* in each of them. The Separation of them all from the Church of *Rome* was intire; but, in *some*, it was thought proper to *reform*; in *others*, to alter the *whole Model*; in *some*, many Things were retain'd, which had been in Practice before the *Reformation*; in *others*, a total Opposition to every Instance of Conformity with the Church of *Rome* seem'd to be the sole Standard of christian Purity.——This Variety of Opinions and Establishments amongst the *Reformed* was a great Evil in itself; but this Evil was aggravated by a Circumstance of the most fatal Consequence. The *Reformers* and especially Those, who came latest, as our excellent Mr. * *Hooker* observes, by enforcing too peremptorily their particular Modes of *Reformation*, brought the People in many Cases to receive and respect, as divine Laws, even those Orders and that Discipline, which Expediency or other political Motives had suggested. Now, the natural Tendency of this Persuasion was not only to render all Comprehension, or Reconciliation amongst the *reform'd Churches*, impracticable; but to make the Divisions, in any particular Church, incurable.——Thus, when *Queen Elizabeth* compleated that Establishment of a Church, which *Edward the sixth* had begun, many dissented from it; and the Scruples of private Conscience were pleaded against Submission to the publick Authority of the State.——If Regard had been paid to all, who petition'd the *Queen*, or admonish'd the *Parliament*, in the Heat of these Times, it seems probable that no Establishment at all could have been made; and if none had been made, an *ecclesiastical Anarchy* must have ensued.——How far the Number of *Separatists* might have been lessen'd by more Compliances with the *learned* and *moderate* amongst them, (for *such* there certainly were) We shall nei-

* Eccl. Polity, Pref.

ther presume to determine, nor go about to enquire. It is sufficient for our present Purpose to observe, that although these Seeds of Disturbance had been sow'd fore the Accession of King *James*; yet no Disturbance had happen'd, nor was any likely to happen at that Time. The Measures, which had been pursu'd, and the Temper, which had been observ'd in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, tended to diminish the religious Opposition by a slow, a gentle, and for that very Reason an effectual Progression; and, in the mean while, to prevent such Consequences of it, as might disorder, or weaken the Government.—By the *Laws*, which were made, the several, dissenting Sects were discourag'd and kept in Awe; but by the Execution of these Laws, They were not exasperated. They were punish'd, not provok'd. They felt the Weight of the Government, as often as They attempted to disturb it, but They never felt the Oppression of *Party*; and when They were treated like *Factions*, They had not the Pretence to complain that They were treated so by a *Faction*. — Upon this Foot there was even Room to hope, that when the first Fire of these Mens Zeal was spent, reasonable Terms of Union with the establish'd Church might be accepted by such of them as were not intoxicated with Fanaticism. Such as These were Friends to Order, though They disputed about it, and could have the less Pretence to reject with Obstinacy That, which had been settled by Queen *Elizabeth*, because They knew that their *own Discipline* had been establish'd where it prevail'd, as the Church of *England* had been, by the *supreme Authority*; that it had been made a *Law of the Country*; that the People had been bound by Oath to the Maintenance of it; and that *Calvin* himself had been a most rigorous Exactor of Conformity to it.—If such as *These* had been once incorporated with the establish'd Church, the remaining *Sectaries* would have been of little Moment, either for Numbers, or Reputation; and the very Means,

Means, which were proper to gain *These*, were likewise the most effectual to hinder the Increase of *Them*, and of the *other Sectaries* in the mean Time. — Upon the whole Matter, We think it very plain that King *James the first*, besides the Advantage of coming to the Crown, after all the Difficulties and Dangers of compleating the *Reformation*, and establishing a new Church were over, had an easy and secure Opportunity of preventing any bad Consequences, which might be apprehended from the Divisions of his Protestant Subjects; and that the Improvement of this Opportunity consisted in giving neither Alarm to the *well-affected*, nor Pretence to the *factious*.

The Designs of the *Roman-Catholick-Party*, against the Constitution in Church and State, were carry'd on with as much Rage, but not with as much Strength as ever. The *Hydra-Heads*, which sprouted continually out of that Body in the *former Reign*, had been lopt so often, that they appear'd more rarely; and if the Venom of *that Principle*, which produc'd them, was not abated; yet many of the Springs, which fed and nourish'd it, were exhausted. The *Guises*, *Mary Queen of Scotland*, *Philip the second*, were dead. The *Reformation* was establish'd; not only in outward Form, but in the Hearts of Men. It was grown up to be a Part, and a favourite Part, of the Constitution. The *Spirit of Liberty* had blended our *civil and religious Rights* together, and was become equally jealous of both. Let us add (for We may add it with great Justice) that the Church of *England* was, by the Sobriety, Wisdom and Sanctity of her Institution, establish'd on a Rock; that this Rock was defended by the greatest Number of excellent Men, which any christian Church could boast of; and from all This let us conclude, that as she was able to resist the Attacks of *those Sects*, which private Conceit, mistaken Zeal, some Enthusiasm, and perhaps some Faction had
nursed

nursed up in her own Bosom ; so she was better able than any other Protestant Church to defend Herself, and the State too, against the Fallacies, the Seductions, and the Violence of *Rome*. The Policy of *this Court* saw it, and neglected nothing to prevent the Consequences. Seminaries had been erected at *Doway* and other Places abroad, for the Education of *English* Youth in Popery. *Gregory XIII.* had given the Direction of That, which was erected at *Rome*, to the *Jesuits* ; and upon that Occasion *these Incendiaries* crept into *England*. If We may believe some Accounts, they mingled themselves amongst the Clergy of the Church of *England* and the *Puritan Ministers*. That they took all Methods to foment our Divisions is probable ; and that They were not Men, who would stick at any, may be certainly collected from that Account of their Conduct here, and of the Doctrines they taught, which is contained in the Complaints exhibited against them by the Rest of the * *Popish Clergy*.

Thus was the Spirit of the Church and Court of *Rome* kept up here, even at the Time of the Accession of King *James* ; a Spirit, which might serve to bring about an Assassination, or any barbarous and desperate Stroke, (like That of the *Gun-Powder-Treason*) which a few Enthusiasts were capable of executing ; but not to subvert the *Reformation*, and introduce *Popery* anew. The Efforts of *this Party* now were like the last Convulsions of a strong Body, mortally wounded ; frightful to behold ; sufficient to hurt others ; but Tokens of Death, not Symptoms of Recovery. — King *James* had it therefore in his Power to keep down with Ease a Party, which Queen *Elizabeth* had subdued with Pain ; and whatever Impression the bloody Designs they had often form'd, and sometimes brought to Effect, might make on his Mind ; certain it was, and

the Event made that Certainty undeniable, that no Degree of Favour to them, except the utmost, could effectually secure Him against their Attempts ; and that the least Degree of Favour shewn, or Encouragement given them, would be productive of the greatest national Mischief.

We have dwelt the longer on these Points of *religious Divisions*, because We think a clear and just Notion of them absolutely necessary to fix a right Opinion, concerning one of the principal Causes, which were laid in this Reign, of all the national Calamities, that follow'd. ——— We shall mention the other Advantages, which attended King *James the first*, as *briefly* as We can ; not because They were small, (for, on the contrary, They were exceedingly great) but because They are more notorious, and have no need of being so much develop'd, in order to be made sensible.

Thus, for Instance, the different Condition, in which He found the *Navy*, the *Commerce*, and the *Wealth* of the Nation, as well as the Revenues of the *Crown*, from That, in which Queen *Elizabeth* had found them all at her Accession, is known in general by every one, who hath dipt into History. Without entering into more Particulars therefore than We have done already, We may venture to conclude that He reap'd the Benefit of her Oeconomy, and was a rich, as well as a powerful King. We know very well that when the Session of Parliament was opened by Commission in 1610, by the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury*, one of the Reasons urg'd, for demanding Money of the *Commons*, was grounded on a Debt of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was said to have absorb'd 350,000 *l.* due on the last Subsidies granted to Her. If this Fact was true, all that resulted from it is ; *first*, that Queen *Elizabeth* left a Mortgage on the Lands of the Crown, and Money enough to discharge it ; *secondly*, that King *James* parted with his Money to recover his Lands ; and We shall
not

not oppose any Person, who will charitably believe that this Prince would have paid the Debts of his Predecessor, though they had not been thus secur'd, out of the Money she left in her Coffers; because to have done otherwise, would have been a manifest Violation of all the Rules of Religion, Honour and common Morality. But We much doubt whether even this Averment of the Lords, who opened the Session, will have any great Weight, when it shall be consider'd that their whole Discourse was too *ministerial* to be *sincere*; and that some of the Reasons, by which they accounted for the King's Want of Money (such, for Instance, as the Charge of protecting his Wife and Children from being *robbed* on the Road to *London*) were really burlesque.

The Advantages, which this Prince had in the Situation of *foreign Affairs*, both at his Accession to the Throne, and during the greatest Part of his Reign, were remarkably great; and We doubt whether it is possible to find more than *one Conjecture* equally favourable since that Time.—*Philip the third* was on the Throne of *Spain*; a Prince of small Capacity, and less Application; govern'd by his Favourite, and his Favourite detested by the People. Before the End of King *James's* Reign He dyed; and *Philip the fourth*, his Son, succeeded; a Youth of sixteen Years old, and govern'd as absolutely by *Olivarez*, as his Father had been by the Duke of *Lerma*. The Declension of the *Spanish* Monarchy hasten'd on apace, under these Princes. It is said that *Philip the third* refused to support the *Roman-Cathelick Party*, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *James*; which is the more probable, on Account of the early and precipitate Steps made by *this Prince*, towards a Peace with *Spain*. The Defeat of *Don John d' Aquila* in *Ireland*, and the intire Reduction of *Tyrone*, which happened a little before the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, discouraged the *Spaniards* from making any more Attempts of
that

that Kind. They turn'd their Eyes from these Islands to the Continent ; to the *low Countries* and to *Germany*, where they continued, during the Course of many Years, to consume their Remains of Strength, in abetting the ambitious Projects of that Branch of the House of *Austria*.

As King *James* had nothing to apprehend from the Enmity of *Spain*, so he was secure of the Friendship of *France*. *Henry the fourth* was now established on that Throne. He was in Peace indeed with *Spain*, but intended not to be so long. We are very far from believing that *this Prince* could seriously entertain so chimerical a Project as That of making an intire new Settlement of *Europe*, by dividing it into *fifteen States*, which *Parefixe* and other Authors have related, upon the Faith of the Compilers of *Sully's Memoirs* ; but, without doubt, He had great Views of checking the Ambition, and reducing the Power of the House of *Austria*. It was therefore his Interest to live well with the King of *Great Britain* ; and accordingly He sent the Marquis of *Rosny*, afterwards Duke of *Sully*, to renew the Treaties with King *James*, as soon almost as this Prince was seated on the Throne of *England*. When *Henry the fourth* was stabbed by *Ravaillac*, a Minority follow'd in *France*, and the Counsels of that Court were, for many Years, chiefly employed about their own Affairs ; so that nothing could happen on that Side, even after this great Change, to give the least Disturbance to King *James*.

The States of the *low Countries* were no longer in the same distress'd Condition. Their *Commonwealth* had taken Form ; their *naval Force* was increasing ; and their *Commerce* extending itself every Day. *Ostend* kept the *Spanish* Forces at Bay for more than three Years ; and when *Spinola* made himself Master of that Heap of Ruins, the *Dutch* thought Themselves sufficiently recompenc'd by the Acquisition, which they had made, in the mean Time, of *Sluyce* and other important Places. The Truce of eight Months

between *Spain* and the *States* was sign'd in 1607. It was prolong'd afterwards ; and in the Year 1609, the Truce of twelve Years was concluded at *Antwerp* ; by which the King of *Spain* was forc'd to acknowledge the Liberty and Independency of the *united Provinces*. Thus was that *Commonwealth* establish'd, to be a great and lasting Accession of Strength to the *Protestant Interest* ; and King *James* might have reap'd the Benefit of an useful Alliance, where Queen *Elizabeth* had no other Advantage than That of defending the oppress'd, and diverting the Forces of a common Enemy.

The Affairs of the *North*, indeed, were in great Confusion about the same Time. The Crown of *Sweden* belong'd to *Sigismund* in Course of Descent ; but *Sigismund* was a *Papist* and King of *Poland*. For both these Reasons, He had been excluded, and his Uncle *Charles* preferr'd to the Throne by the States of *Sweden* ; who provided, by the Act of Settlement, not only that their Kings should be of the *Religion* of the Country, but that none of the Princes of the royal Family should accept *another Crown*, nor any *foreign Dominions*. Their Experience, it seems, had shewn Them the Necessity of such Limitations. This gave Occasion to those long and cruel Wars, which follow'd between *Sweden* and *Poland*. Others succeeded between *Sweden* and *Denmark* ; but the Scene of them all was so remote, and the Interests of this Country so absolutely unconcern'd in the Events of them, that He, who should have advis'd King *James* to take any Part in them, would have pass'd, in those Days, for a very *bad Politician*.

The indolent *Rodolphus* slept on the Throne of the Empire till the Year 1614. His Brother *Matthias* succeeded Him ; and their Cousin *Ferdinand* succeeded *Matthias*. During the Reign of *Rodolphus*, there were Troubles in *Hungary*, in *Transilvania*, in *Bohemia*, and in several Parts of the Empire. Most of them were caus'd, all of them were fomented, by *religious Divisions*. During the Reign of *Matthias*, these

these Troubles increas'd. They grew up to Maturity, as the Accession of *Ferdinand* to the Empire approach'd. The *Bohemians*, long oppress'd, and long provok'd, took Arms at last in 1618. Many Causes conspir'd to render all Accommodation impracticable. Amongst the principal were the Designs, which all the Branches of the House of *Austria* had laid and begun to execute against *Liberty* and the *Protestant Religion* in *Germany*; the Character of *Ferdinand*, violent, cruel, a Bigot, though artful; and, to speak impartially, the Ambition of *Frederick*, Elector *Palatine*. If this Ambition had been the sole Motive to engage King *James* in these Quarrels, We must think that He could not have answer'd to his own People the engaging in them, as popular as the *Palatine*, his *Wife* and his *Cause* were in *England*. But these Quarrels were of another Importance, *Frederick* lost not only the Crown of *Bohemia*, but his own *Patrimony*. The *Protestant Religion* and the *Liberty of Germany* were well nigh sacrific'd to the Bigotry and Ambition of the *Emperor*; so that the Interest of *this Nation*, as well as the *King's Family Interest*, was very much concern'd to prevent these Consequences; and yet, even upon this Foot, We must likewise think that it would not have been long popular in those Days, when the Memory of Queen *Elizabeth's* Policy was fresh in the Minds of Men, to have maintain'd great Armies on the Continent, and to have fed with Subsidies so many hungry Princes, who had, at least in the Beginning, nothing less at Heart than the common Interest.

This difficult and dangerous Situation of Affairs on the Continent, in which We allow that King *James* ought to have taken some Part, may be thought, perhaps, to form an Exception to what hath been said, concerning those Circumstances of Advantage, of Ease, and Security, which accompanied the Reign of *this Prince*; but there will be Room to think so no longer, when it shall be consider'd that King *James* had Time and Means to prepare for this

critical Conjunction. The Distress in *foreign Affairs* began with Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; and she was in Danger abroad, before she was settled on her Throne at home; but *He* had reign'd near *eighteen Years* before any Thing happen'd on the Continent, which could give Him a just Occasion of acting vigorously in that Scene. Besides, when this Occasion did happen, He had it in his Power to have acted with great Glory to *Himself*, and effectually for the Service of *Those*, whom it was his Interest to support, without taking any other Part than That, which becomes a *King of England*, in Opposition to That, which becomes a *Prince on the Continent*, and agreeably to the Principles of his *Predecessor's* Conduct. This will appear evidently true, when we come to consider the Part He did take; and We shall insist upon it the rather, because We observe with how much Affectation the *Case*, We are now speaking of, hath been quoted as parallel to the *present Situation of Affairs*; and how impertinently it hath been taken for granted, that King *James the first* was condemn'd in his own Time, and hath been condemn'd since, for not doing what these *Time-serving Politicians* recommend; that is, for entangling Himself in the *Affairs of the Empire*, as if He had been a *Prince of the Empire*; and for not acting, on every Appearance of Danger, or even of Inconveniency to any little State of *Germany*, in such a Manner as is agreeable neither to the *Interest*, nor *Situation of our Island*.

What hath been said may be sufficient to shew how few the Difficulties were, compared with the Advantages, which King *James* had to encounter both at home and abroad; and how fortunate a Conjunction was prepared for Him by the Wisdom of his *Predecessor*, and by an happy Combination of Circumstances. — What Use He made of these Advantages, what Conduct He held, and what Consequences it had, must be the Subject of another Discourse.

N^o 247. SATURDAY, *March 27, 1731.**Remarks on the History of England continued.**From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.*

Y what hath been said, in former Papers, We think it appears that from the Time our Constitution settled on the Foundation, on which it remains still, there hath been not only no Possibility of governing this Nation with Strength and Dignity, without the Concurrence of the People in their *representative Body*, nor with Ease and Safety without their Concurrence in their *collective Body*; but that this Concurrence hath depended, and does and must always depend, on the Union of Interest and Affection between the *King* and his *Subjects*.

We beg Leave to repeat that *Queen Elizabeth* saw This to be a sure, and the only sure Principle, on which she could establish her Government under *such a Constitution*; that she very wisely took the Government on the Terms of the *Constitution*, and the *Constitution* as she found it; that instead of struggling through Trouble and Danger to bend the *Constitution* to any particular Notions, or Views of her own, she accommodated her Notions, her Views, and her whole Character to it. — Let us observe, by the Way, that This is no more than what every *Prince* ought to do; and what every *free People* will expect and exact too, if Need be, that He should do. *He* is made for *their Sakes*, not *They* for *his*. He is rais'd to maintain, not to alter the *Constitution*.

Now King *James* begun and continu'd, through the whole Course of his Reign, to govern without any Regard to this Principle; nay, in absolute Defiance of it. He chose *other Expedients* of Government, and trusted to so many *broken Reeds*. Without any Talents to procure the Esteem, He awaken'd the Jealousy and never courted the good Will of his People; but, instead of it, endeavour'd to instil into their Minds what was rooted in his own, a very good Opinion of *Himself*, and a very mean Opinion of *Them*. He endeavour'd to persuade Men, who felt that the *Ballance of Property* was on their Side, and that They held a great Share of the *supreme Power* in their Hands, that though They had *this Property*, yet They had no Right, or a very precarious one, to *this Power*. He meant, by the Force of *new-fangled Opinions*, to attach the Nation to Him, as Queen *Elizabeth* had done by the Tyes of *Affection* and *Confidence*; or He meant to govern without the *Concurrence of the Nation*; or He meant *nothing*. The *first* was chimerical, the *second* was wicked, and the *third* was stupid.—*Elizabeth* had been jealous of her *Prerogative*, but moderate in the Exercise of it. Wiser *James* imagin'd that the higher He carry'd it, and the more rigorously He exerted it, the more strongly He should be seated in his Throne. He mistook the Weight for the Strength of a Scepter; and did not consider that it is never so likely to slip, or to be wrench'd out of a Prince's Hands, as when it is heaviest. He never reflected that *Prerogative* is of the Nature of a *Spring*, which by much straining will certainly relax and often break; that in *one Case* it becomes of little, and in the *other* of no Use at all.

As absurd as the Notions and Principles of Government were, by which King *James* hoped to establish his Authority, He found Numbers to adopt them; for Numbers are at all Times liable to be deceiv'd, ready to be tempted, and prone to be corrupted.

rupted. — New Systems of *Law* and *Policy* were not only receiv'd, but propagated. Some Men were heated by *Opposition*. Others were educated in *Prejudice*. The plainest Rights of the *People* were call'd in Question. The least justifiable Pretensions of the *Crown* were establish'd as true Axioms of Government, and certain Principles of the *English* Constitution. What Father *Paul* observes to have happen'd in the *Church*, happen'd here in the *State*. Our Court, like That of *Rome*, by affirming and denying boldly, and by insisting peremptorily, brought many Things to be receiv'd as *certain*, which had been never *proved*, and many others to be look'd on as *problematical*, which had been often *demonstrated*. Thus were *those Divisions* created, which could alone render the *others* fatal. Disputes about the Use of the *Surplice*, or the *Cross* in *Baptism*, would not have unsheath'd all the Swords in the Nation. *Puritanism* neither did, nor could make such deadly Wounds; but when they were once made, *Puritanism* fester'd in the Sore, and render'd them mortal. King *James* conjur'd up, by using Tricks of Government, that Storm in which his *Successor* perish'd. His *Successor*, (for We will finish the Sketch We have begun) a religious and a just Prince, came a *Party-man* to the Throne. His *Prejudices*, confirm'd by *Habit*, fortify'd by the *Flattery* of his Courtiers, and provok'd by the *Opposition*, which his Father and He met with, carry'd Him to continue an Invasion on the *People's Rights*, whilst He imagin'd Himself only concern'd in the Defence of *his own*. The *Faction* of the Court tainted the Nation, and gave Life and Strength, if it did not give Being, to the *Factions* in the State. If the *Spirit of Liberty* could have prevail'd in Time against the *first*, there had been no Danger from the *others*. But the long and obstinate Resistance of the *first* gave Time, and Opportunity, and even Assistance to the *others* to extinguish *this Spirit*. *Cavaliers* and *Roun-heads* divided the Nation, like *Yorkists* and *Lancastrians*.

castrians. No other Option was left at last. To reconcile these Disputes by *Treaty* became impracticable, when neither Side would trust the other. To terminate them by the *Sword*, was to fight not for *preserving the Constitution*, but for the *Manner of destroying it*. The Constitution might have been destroy'd, under Pretence of *Prerogative*. It was destroy'd under Pretence of *Liberty*. We might have fallen under *absolute Monarchy*. We fell into *absolute Anarchy*. The Sum of all is This. We were destroy'd by *Faction*; but *Faction* prevail'd at *Court* near forty Years before it prevail'd amongst the *People*. It was the original Principle on *one Side*. It was an Accident on the *other*. *Churchmen* and *Royalists* attack'd the Constitution. *Puritans* and *Commonwealths-Men*, and, above all, a motley Race of *precise Knaves* and *enthusiastick Madmen* ruin'd it. But the *last* could never have happen'd, if the *first* had not; and whoever will dispassionately trace the Causes of that detestable *civil War*, will find them laid in the Conduct of King *James the first*, as early as his Accession to the Throne of *England*.

Having given this general Idea of the *two Reigns*, which follow'd That of Queen *Elizabeth*, it is Time to examine whether this Idea of them can be supported by a Series of uncontroverted Facts. — Let us descend into some Particulars.

A Prince, that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, says *Wilson*, must have his Chariot Wheels smooth shod; and surely if ever Prince had Motives and an Opportunity to render Himself popular, King *James* had both. *Essex*, *Southampton* and others (even *Cecil*, a principal Minister of the late Queen) had held a Correspondence with Him, for their own private Interest; but the Millions, who submitted to his Accession, submitted to it upon Trust, and were determin'd by the Nature of the *Conjuncture*, not by any Knowledge of the *Persons*, who compos'd this new royal Family. It was not therefore enough for them

them to be placed in and about the Throne. Their true Interest required that the *Hearts of the People* should be gain'd to them; and that Popularity should supply that Spirit in their Favour, which seldom fails to operate in Favour of those Princes, who are born and bred amongst the People They are to govern. The Opportunity of doing This lay fairly before King *James*. He was receiv'd with Transports of Joy, and all Ranks of Men made their Court to Him.——If He look'd on this *national Behaviour* (for so it was) to be the Effect of a Desire in the People to endear Themselves to Him, and to unite closely with Him; This should have suggested to his Mind the Ease, with which He might acquire Popularity, by improving the Disposition, and captivate the good Will of a People, so desirous to be pleas'd with their King. If He look'd on this *national Behaviour* as the Effect of Levity, Inconstancy and Love of Change, it should have taught Him to apprehend how soon this *Honey-Moon* would pass away; how soon the Stream of *popular Favour* might turn against Him; and how soon They, who seem'd to have forgot Queen *Elizabeth*, might return to regret Her.——But That, which a *Scotsman* foretold, happen'd. This Behaviour of the *English* spoil'd a *good King*; or made a *bad King* worse. It was natural for a *vain Man* to believe what his *Flatterers* told Him and what He, his own *greatest Flatterer*, told Himself; that these Applauses and Transports of the People were due to his *eminent Merit*, and were an Homage paid for the Honour He did Them in *accepting their Crown*.——He took therefore much State. He did not indeed make his Journey, as *Henry the seventh* made his Entry into London, in a *close Chariot*; but He forbid by Proclamation the Concourse of the People to Him. * *He dis-*

pers'd them with Frowns, that We may not say with Curses.——Such different Turns of Thought can *Vanity* inspire. Some will be respected, like *eastern Monarchs*, unseen within the Shrine of their Court. Others grow fond of publick Triumphs; delight in noisy Acclamations; and are pleas'd to drive, like *Indian Pagods*, over a prostrate Crowd.

As much as King *James* neglected to gain the *Publick*, even at the cheap Price of *Affability*, He sunk into low Familiarity with his *Favourites*, and was profuse of Riches and Honours to *particular Men*. He bestow'd, at first, on a *Few*, and afterwards on *one Man*, that Affection, which He had promis'd the *whole Nation*, in some of the plausible, common-place Discourses, which He held at certain Times. There is no need of mentioning the particular Instances of a *Profusion* He acknowledg'd Himself. The Estates He gave to his *Courtiers* impoverish'd the *Crown*; and, as it always happens, the *People* were forc'd to pay for those very *Grants*, at which They murmur'd. *Honours* He bestow'd in so lavish a Manner and with so little Distinction, that They ceas'd, in some Sense, to be *Honours*. To know the *British Nobility*, it was become almost necessary to have *Nomenclators* like Those, who attended the Candidates at *Rome*, to tell them the Names of the *Citizens*. The Jest went so far, that an Advertisement of * *an Art to help weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Names of the Nobility*, was pasted up at *Paul's*.

Thus King *James* began, and thus He continu'd his Reign. That *Experience*, which He said, in his first Speech to his Parliament, would teach Him *not to be so easily and lightly moved in granting*, taught Him nothing. What a Contraste does this Conduct make with the *Affability* of Queen *Elizabeth*; with

the Oeconomy and Reserve she us'd, in disposing of her *Treasure*, and in conferring *Honours*? — But King *James* stood in Need of Helps, to the Want of which she was superior. *A good Government*, says one of our best Writers, *makes a good People*. When a Prince hath turn'd the *Spirit of a Nation in his Favour*, He need not be solicitous about gaining *particular Men*; but when he hath turn'd *this Spirit against Him*, He must employ all Arts, even the lowest, to *detach particular Men from the Body of the People*, and to make them act by Motives of *private Interest* against the *publick Sense*. This is *Faction*; and therefore whenever a *Court* is industrious to seduce, to inveigle, to corrupt *particular Men*, We may securely conclude, without waiting for any other Sign, that such an Administration stands on a *factious*, not on a *national Bottom*. — But to return to King *James*.

Whilst He neglected the *Affection* and sought the *Reverence* of the Publick, He lost *one*, and was disappointed of the *other*. His *private* and his *publick Character* both fell into Contempt. *Learning* was the Part, upon which He valu'd Himself. *This* He affected more than became a *King*, and broach'd, on every Occasion, in such a Manner as would have misbecome a *Schoolmaster*. His *Pedantry* was too much even for the Age, in which He liv'd. It would be tedious to quote the Part He took in the Conference at *Hampton Court*; and in the theological Wrangles between the *Gomarists* and *Arminians*; or to go about to prove, by some Instances, what appear'd in all his Words and Actions; what is universally allow'd; and what the *unkingly Volume* He left behind him testifies. — Let us only observe that the *Ridicule*, which arose from hence, and which fix'd on Him, was just; because the Merit of a *chief Governor* is wisely to super-intend the *whole*, and not to shine in any *inferior Class*; because *different* and, in some Cases perhaps, *opposite Talents*, both
natural

natural and acquir'd, are necessary to move, and to regulate the Movements of the *Machine of Government*; in short, because as a good *Adjutant* may make a *very bad General*; so a great Reader, and Writer too, may be a very ignorant King.

There were many other Circumstances, which concurr'd to lessen *this Prince* in the Eyes of his Subjects and of all Mankind; as We shall have Occasion to observe frequently in the Course of these Remarks. — In the mean Time, We shall observe here that the *State* He affected and the *pompous Titles* He was fond of, serv'd to render his *Pusillanimity* (which, with his *Vanity*, made up the main of his Character) more conspicuous, and his *Person* by Consequence more contemptible. — The Hostilities between the *English* and *Spaniards* continu'd, when Queen *Elizabeth* died. This great *Queen*, not content to have done Herself and her Subjects Justice, on many signal Occasions, put it likewise into their Power to do themselves Justice, by granting *Letters of Reprizal* on the Subjects of *Spain*. King *James* was so fond of *Peace*, that is so afraid of *War*, that without staying to be solicited on this Head, or to be complimented on his Accession to the Throne by the King of *Spain*, He revok'd these *Letters* in a few Weeks after He came into *England*. He disarm'd his Subjects, before He had provided for their better *Security*. He stopt them in the Course of doing Themselves *Justice*, before He was sure of obtaining Reparation for their *past Losses*. The Impressions, which such a Proceeding must make on the Minds of a *trading People*, are easily felt. He, who had revok'd these *Letters* in such a Manner, was not likely to grant them on any other Occasion. What Protection therefore, and much less what Encouragement to Trade could be expected from a *Prince*, who began his Reign by sacrificing This, the most valuable Interest of his People, to a *foreign and hostile Nation*; to the mean Arts of *false Policy*, and even to his *Fears*?

Again;

— Again; one of the first *Embassies*, which King *James* sent abroad, was That of the Earl of *Hertford* to *Brussels*. A *Dutch Man of War* meeting the Ship, which carry'd the *Ambassador*, refus'd to strike *; and having offer'd this Affront to the *united Crosses*, which had never been offer'd to That of *St. George*, went off with Impunity. It is said that the *Ambassador* hinder'd the *Captain* from asserting the Honour of the *British Flag*. But *two Things* are certain; *one*, that *Queen Elizabeth* would have severely punish'd her Officer, and have exacted ample Reparation from the *States general*; the *other*, that King *James* did neither. This *Commonwealth* had

* N. B. *This Fact stands in History, as it is here related; but having look'd into Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, We find it differently told. He says nothing of striking, or not striking the Flag; but confesses that an Affront was offered by two Dutch Men of War. He adds, that He sent for the Captains on Board his Ship; that He threaten'd to right Himself upon them; but that He dismissed them at the Intreaty of my Lord Hertford, on their excusing Themselves, and promising to punish the Offenders. How severely these Offenders were punished may be collected from hence. One of these Captains, says Sir William Monson, was He, who since that Time committed a foul Murther upon his Majesty's Subjects in Ireland, that were under Protection.--- If We had no other Proofs of the Indignities offer'd to our Nation by the Dutch, from the Time of the Accession of King James the first, than the Memorials of this Gentleman, They would be sufficient. He complains of these Indignities very much, and mentions several. In this very Tract He affirms that the Hollanders took and burnt our Ships and murder'd our Men for trading to the Ports of Flanders, whilst They suffered their own Countrymen, even in our sight, to trade thither. The Truth is, that our Nation was insulted with Impunity, during this pacifick Reign, not only in Europe but in every other Part of the World; not only by the Dutch, but by other Nations; and that our Government fell from the highest Esteem into the lowest Contempt. If therefore the Instance We have quoted should be disputed, on the Representation of this Fact by Sir William Monson, an hundred others, and several of them more flagrant, might be soon produced.*

been rais'd by *Queen Elizabeth*, and was still in want of the Support of *England*. The *Sovereignty of her State* had not been yet acknowledg'd by any of the Powers of *Europe*. How much the pacifick Temper of *King James* was capable of bearing had not yet become so apparent, as He made it in the Course of his Reign. From all which it is easy to collect that if he had demanded *Satisfaction*, He must and would have receiv'd it. But the *good Prince* was afraid, where no Fear was, and bore dishonourably what He might have resent'd safely; nay, what He ought to have resent'd in any Circumstances, and at any Hazard. We are not to wonder if so poor a Conduct as This soon brought *King James* into Contempt, mingled with Indignation, amongst a *People*, eagerly bent on *Commerce*, and in whom high Notions of *Honour* and a *gallant Spirit* had been infus'd, by the Example of *Queen Elizabeth*, and encourag'd during the whole Course of a long Reign.

These Things and several others of the same Kind, which I omit, might however have been borne. The *Ridicule* might have appear'd less in the Eyes of Men accus'd to it. The *other Faults* might have been excus'd, or soften'd at least, by Hopes of *Amendment*. But there are *some Things* behind, which no *Excuse* would alleviate, nor any *Patience* endure. We shall now bring them forward, and shall speak of them under *three Heads*.—The Pretensions set up and the Attempts made against the Freedom of this Constitution.—The Management of Parties. — The Conduct of our national Interests abroad, against the Sense of the Nation. O.

EPIGRAM.

AS *Sh*—— at *Temple* was taking a Boat,
The Waterman ask'd him, which Way he
(would float;
“ Which Way! (says the Doctor) why, Fool, with
(the Stream;
“ To *Paul's*, or to *Lambeth*;—’twas equal to Him.



N^o 248. SATURDAY, *April* 3, 1731.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



 H I L S T *some Persons* are congratulating
Themselves, and caressing one another
on the *new Peace*, lately arriv'd from
Vienna, I chuse to wish *You Joy*, in
particular, on this great Event, which
now engages the Attention of the Publick, and
portends some wonderful Turn in the Affairs of
Europe.

I congratulate you, Mr. D'Anvers, upon this Occasion, because We are told that it is *such a Peace*, as you have long ago pointed out and recommended, in the most solicitous Manner, to the Consideration of Those, who have had the Honour to direct our publick Negotiations. I mean a *general Treaty of Peace*, containing a definitive Accommodation of all the Differences, in which We have been unhappily involv'd, as well as full Reparation for the Losses We have unjustly sustain'd; a particular Confirmation of all our Interests, which have been so notoriously

riously invaded; and a specifick Recognition of those Rights, which have been so unaccountably brought into Dispute.

What a Pleasure must it be to you, in your old Age, to see the great End of your Labours thus far accomplish'd; to behold the *dirty Writers* against you under an awkward Necessity of espousing your Cause and acknowledging the Strength of your Reasonings, without daring to brand you any longer as the Advocate of an *ungrateful, perfidious Prince*; or the Tool of an *Imperial Faction*, and *Germaniz'd Patriots*?

As you never seem'd ashamed of these *Imputations*, whilst They were thrown out against you; so the *present Suite of Affairs* must give you infinite Satisfaction; and I hope you will defeat the only Expectation of your *Enemies*, by shewing that you are the *same Man* still; consistent in your Principles of Politicks, with relation to his *Imperial Majesty*; and that *You* scorn to temporize, as *They* do, upon every little Turn, or Fluctuation of Affairs.

This happy *Revolution of Politicks* cannot be more agreeable to *You* and all good *Englishmen*, than it must be mortifying to *Mynheer Van Ripperda*, who negotiated a vile *Popish Treaty* some Years ago, at the same Place, in order to deprive us of our *Commerce*; to wrest *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon* out of our Hands; to foist the *Pretender* upon us; and establish an universal Monarchy in *Europe*.

It is to be hop'd that this *Protestant Treaty of Vienna* (for We must distinguish it by *that Name*, to prevent Confusion) will absolutely defeat all the bad Designs of the *other Popish Treaty*, and free us from the Apprehensions and Expences, which it hath occasion'd. The Benefits of it to *this Nation* will, We doubt not, soon unfold Themselves, by the immediate Discharge of the *Hessian Troops*, and a considerable Reduction of our *own Land Forces*. *Dunkirk* will be once more effectually demolish'd, and the

Colony of *Santa Lucia*, in Violation of *Treaties*, will be likewise withdrawn. The *Forts*, lately erected to annoy the Garrison and Harbour of *Gibraltar*, will be level'd with the Ground; and the Defect, so much complain'd of and acknowledg'd in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, will be supply'd by the Grant of a proper District round *that Garrison* from the Crown of *Spain*. Our *Merchants* will receive full Satisfaction for all their past Sufferings, and have Liberty to exercise their undoubted Right of *Trade* without any farther Molestation.

These Things are the least We can expect from a *Treaty*, upon which the *Persons*, more immediately concern'd in it, have express'd so much extraordinary Joy, and which They have represented so very advantageous, that it would effectually silence the Clamours of *Malecontents*, and give intire Satisfaction to *all Parties*.

You will observe, Sir, that I have mention'd nothing concerning Satisfaction for those vast *Expences*, which this Nation hath already been at to procure *such a Peace*, though I might very reasonably do it; for We have certainly as much Right to expect that the great Charge of the *Hessian* Troops, kept in our Pay for several Years with this Design, (if We may believe the *ministerial Writers*) should be defray'd, as the *Emperor* hath to expect a Reimbursement of his Expences, in marching and supporting his Troops in *Italy*; but We are unwilling to lay too much upon the *Gentlemen in Power*, and shall be well enough satisfy'd, as Things go, if They effectually secure us from any *such Expences* for the future.

At the same Time that I congratulate you, Sir, upon this Subject, I must express my Surprize that the *Writers*, on the *other Side*, should affect to triumph over you, whilst They are really *taking Shame to Themselves*, and singing *Iō Paans* on your Success; for if They will give Themselves the Trouble of looking over all your Papers, with Regard to the

Court of *Vienna*, from the first Commencement of the CRAFTSMAN, They will find them amply justified by the present Conduct and Measures of their *own Patron*; whereas I will undertake to prove that all *their Writings*, in Answer to *You*, are the severest Satires upon *Him*. You have constantly endeavour'd to inculcate the Expediency of returning to our *old natural Alliance* with the *Emperor*; whilst They, on the contrary, have not only represented *Him*, in the most licentious Manner, as a *Person*, in whom We could put no *Confidence*; but have likewise made it their Business to prove that He was grown so formidable, by the natural Fluctuation of Power, that it was become the true Interest of *Great Britain* to humble and reduce *Him*. Whilst *You* have been lamenting our late unhappy Misunderstandings with *that Prince*, and recommending *healing Measures*; They, on the other Hand, have spar'd no Pains to depreciate his *private Character*; to aggravate his *publick Conduct*; and exasperate the *British Nation* against *Him*. ——— If you could find Leisure, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to collect some Passages, of this Nature, out of their most celebrated Productions, for *four* or *five* Years past, and to put them together in one View, I am sure it would furnish a very agreeable Entertainment to your Readers.

Is it not therefore very ridiculous in *these Writers* to affect an Air of Triumph over *You*, when They are absolutely defeated *Themselves*; driven out of all their stale Topicks against the *Emperor*; and oblig'd, by the natural Event of Affairs, to acknowledge that They have been arguing like *Knaves*, or *Blockheads*, for above *four Years* together? But *Inconsistency* is the distinguishing Characteristick of *these Men*; and the nauseous, ill-tim'd Flattery, with which They have be-daub'd their *Patron* upon this Occasion, are another Instance of it, as ridiculous as their pretended Victory over *You*; for admitting *this Treaty*, or *Convention of Peace*, to be as honourable and advantageous

geous as They represent it, and We are willing to believe; what is it more than an Accommodation of the Squabbles of *Europe*, in which We had originally no material Concern, and only a meer *Quietus to us*, after We have been at an infinite Expence, and brought our *own Interests* into imminent Danger; by engaging ourselves in the Disputes of *other Princes*? — How can it be call'd a Treaty of *Peace*, when there hath been no Declaration of *War*? — It will be said, perhaps, that the *Spaniards* have made War upon *Us*, by taking our Ships, in a most unprecedented Manner, and laying Siege to *Gibraltar*; but there hath been no *mutual War*; no Commission, or Return of Hostilities on *our Part*; unless our *blocking up their Galleons before Portobello* can be justly call'd an *Hostility*, as They pretend, and We have constantly deny'd.

And here, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I must beg Leave to wish you Joy, on another Account; I mean with Regard to the *Hague Letter*, which you publish'd almost three Months ago, concerning a Negotiation at *Vienna*; for though no Body can be more willing to believe that *this Treaty* hath laid a solid Foundation for a *general Peace*; yet at present it does not appear that any other Powers have acceded to it than *Great Britain* and the *Emperor*. We are told, indeed, that the other Allies of *Seville* are invited into it, and I hope They will accept the Invitation; but can it be call'd a *general Peace*, till They have accepted it? — Why was the Treaty of *Utrecht* call'd a *separate Treaty*? If I am rightly inform'd, the Negotiations were constantly communicated to the *Allies*, though some of them did not think fit to approve them; and when the *Treaty* was sign'd without their Concurrence, They were invited to *accede* to it, as They did at last. — Why was the Treaty of *Vienna* (I mean *Ripperda's Popish Treaty*) call'd a *separate Treaty*? For though the Negotiations were not communicated to the *other Powers*, who were suppos'd to be concern'd

in

in it, as the Negotiations of the Treaty of *Utrecht* were to the *Emperor* and *Holland*; yet Room was left for our *Accession*, and We were *invited* into it.— If therefore you had affirm'd, that We were carrying on a *separate Negotiation* at *Vienna*, as in Fact you did not, I think you sufficiently justify'd in it.— Let me add farther, that even *separate Negotiations* (by which I mean such as are carried on at first without a general Concert of the *Allies*) may happen to conclude in a *general Treaty*; because *those Powers*, who were not consulted at first upon the Manner of such Negotiations, may be induc'd to concur in them, when They are communicated to Them; so that if the *late Convention* at *Vienna* did really include all the *Allies* of *Seville*, it would be no Proof that *We* did not begin to negotiate there *first*. But, at present, even the *Treaty* itself does not appear to be *general*, whatever the *Negotiations* may have been.

It is very probable that the *Dutch* will soon accede to *this Treaty*; and we hope their *Accession* will be full and absolute, without any such *Restrictions* and *Limitations*, as have appear'd in some former *Accessions*.

We likewise wish that *France* may prove in a Disposition to concur in the *same Measures*; though if we may presume to judge by *Appearances*, or give any Credit to *Advices* from abroad, both publick and private, they do not yet seem to relish them.— The present Language of *that Court* can be no Secret to any Body, who hath the least Intelligence from thence.— We have, besides, seen Accounts in our *News-Papers*, that Complaints have been lately made there against the Conduct of some *English Vessels*, appointed to prevent the mischievous Practice of *Owling* and *Smuggling*, which they are pleas'd to term *English Garde de Cotes*; that they have a Design of erecting *Forts* along the Coast, as the *Spaniards* have done about the Bay of *Gibraltar*, to check this Insolence of the *English*; and, what is still more, that they

they have lately clapt up the Master of an *English* Vessel and some of his Men in the Castle of *Dunkirk*, under a Pretence of their having thrown out some Stones at the Mouth of *that Harbour*.—I mention *these Points* only as suspicious Symptoms of some little Uneasiness between us.

But it will be said (as I have heard it said already) that if we can accommodate Matters with *Spain* and the *Emperor*, in which *Holland* will readily concur, we can have no Reason to stand in Fear of *France*. I am sure, Sir, you will agree with me in allowing This; for it is a Doctrine which you have constantly inculcated and labour'd to prove for several Years past; though, perhaps, it may be made a Doubt whether we had not less Reason to apprehend any Thing from *France*, when you first began to write, than now; and as the profess'd Design of the Treaty of *Seville*, I mean a *general Peace*, was obstructed by the Want of *one Accession*, whether the Treaty of *Vienna* may not prove equally ineffectual, for Want of *another*; but, to lay aside all such Reflections at present, let us stick to the Point immediately before us.—If then it should be judg'd expedient to run the Hazard of losing the Friendship of *France*, by cultivating That of the *Emperor*; (which I hope will not be our Case;) what Glory can *some Gentlemen* take to themselves, who have at Length seen the Expediency of *such a Measure*; or with what Face can they pretend to triumph over *other Gentlemen*, who have endeavour'd to point it out to them, by writing and speaking, for many Years together?—I will not say, as some Persons have said, that they have been *sham'd* and almost *forc'd* into it, by the *general Voice of the Nation*, after they had persever'd in *another Method*, till they found themselves unable to pursue it any longer.

As to *Spain*, I think we have no Reason to doubt of their Concurrence, if the immediate Succession of *Don Carlos* to the Dominions of *Tuscany* and *Parma*,
with-

without Opposition, is to be the Price of it; but I must take the Liberty to observe that This seems to be a Stipulation in Favour of the *Queen of Spain*, rather than of the *Spanish Nation*; and if his *catholic Majesty* should abdicate, or happen to die, soon after *this Treaty* takes Effect, let it be consider'd whether his *Successor* will think Himself under any Obligations to *Great Britain* on this Account.

I must however repeat my Acknowledgment that I think Affairs are in the *right Train* at last; and I hope they will continue successfully in it, upon equal and honourable Terms. I shall therefore conclude, as I begun, with congratulating *You* on this great Turn of Affairs, and assuring you that I have always been, both in Principle and Profession, in the same Sentiments, with Relation to *Great Britain* and the *Empire*; for which Reason, I chuse to subscribe myself

N.

A Lover of my Country, and, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

ANGLO-GERMANICUS.

EPIGRAM.

AS *Sh—* was pleading for *Bribes* and for *Pensions*,
Thus *W—e* explain'd the good Man's Intentions.

“ By the River whilst trembling stood each *Eton*
(Dunce,

“ G—d d—ye, (cry'd *Sh—*) e'en plunge in at once;

“ At *School* and in *S—te* the same he appears;

“ The *Man*, like the *Boy*, soufes o'er Head and Ears.

SATURDAY,

N^o 249. SATURDAY, *April 10, 1731.**Remarks on the History of England continued.**From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.*

Fundamental Principle, on which King *James* affected to establish his Authority, was That of an *hereditary Right to the Crown*. This sacred Right, according to the political Creed, which He impos'd, was not to be contested, much less to be set aside; and yet this sacred Right was a meer Chimæra; contradicted by the general Tenor of Custom from the *Norman* Invasion to his Time; by the declared Sense of his immediate Predecessors; by many solemn Proceedings of Parliament; and by the express Terms of Law.—*Two Families* (for the Race of *Plantagenet* was grafted on the *Norman* Race, and They may be reckoned properly as one) had furnished, indeed, all our Kings; but This constituted no *hereditary Right*. When a Prince of the royal Family, but in a Degree remote from the Succession, comes to the Crown, in Prejudice of the next Heir, *hereditary Right* is violated as really as it would be, if an absolute Stranger to this Family succeeded. Such a Prince may have another, and We think a better Right; That, for Instance, which is derived from a Settlement of the Crown, made by the Authority of *Parliament*; but to say He hath an *hereditary Right*, is the grossest Abuse of Words imaginable. This We think so plain, that We should be ashamed to go about to prove it; and yet there are
Men,

Men, in this Age of Paradoxes, either dull enough, or prostitute enough, to assert *hereditary Right*, even in the Case above-mention'd.

Our Kings, of the *Norman Race*, were so far from succeeding as *next Heirs to one another*, and in a *regular Course of Descent*, that no Instance can be produc'd of the *next Heir's succeeding*, which is not preceded and followed by Instances of the *next Heir's being set aside*. — Thus *Edward the first* succeeded his Father *Henry the third*; but his Father *Henry the third* and his Grandfather *John* had both been rais'd to the Throne, in plain Defiance of *hereditary Right*; the Right of *Arthur*, Nephew to *John*, and the Right of *Arthur's Sister*, Cousin-German to *Henry*. — *Edward the second* succeeded his Father *Edward the first*; but *Edward the third* depos'd *Edward the second*; the Parliament renounc'd all Allegiance to Him; and *Edward the third* held the Crown by a Parliamentary Title, as much as *William the third*. — If We go up higher than this *Æra*, or descend lower, We shall find the Examples uniform. Examples, sufficient to countenance this Pretension of *hereditary Right* to the Crown of *England*, are to be found no where. — But We hasten to King *James*; who rais'd or, if you please, reviv'd this Pretension, so needlessly for Himself, and so very unprofitably for his Posterity.

The *British Race* began in *Henry the seventh*; and from Him alone King *James* deriv'd that Right, which He asserted in such pompous Terms; that *undoubted Right* to the Throne, as He call'd it in his first Speech to Parliament, which God by *Birthright and lineal Descent* had, in *Fulness of Time*, provided for Him. Now surely, if ever any Prince came to the Crown without the least Colour of *hereditary Right*, it was *Henry the seventh*. He had no Pretence to it, even as Heir of the House of *Lancaster*. His Wife might have some, as Heir of the House of *York*; though her *hereditary Title* was not free from Objections, which the Character of *Edward the fourth*

fourth render'd probable; but the Title of his *Wife* had no Regard paid to it either by *Him*, or the *Parliament*, in making this new Settlement. He gain'd the Crown by the good Will of the *People*. He kept it by the Confirmation of *Parliament*, and by his *own Ability*. The notional Union of the *two Roses* was a much better Expedient for *Quiet* than Foundation of *Right*. It took Place in *Henry the eighth*; it was continu'd in his Successors; and the Nation was willing it should continue in King *James* and his Family. But neither *Henry the eighth*, nor his Son *Edward the sixth*, who might have done so with much better Grace, laid the same stress on *hereditary Right* as King *James* did. One of them had Recourse to *Parliament* on every Occasion, where the Succession to the Crown was concern'd; and the other made no Scruple of giving the Crown by *Will* to his *Cousin*, in Prejudice of his *Sister's Right*. This *Right* however, such as it was, prevail'd; but the Authority of *Parliament* was call'd in Aid by *Mary*, to remove the Objection of *Illegitimacy*, which lay against it. *Elizabeth* had so little Concern about *hereditary Right*, that she neither held, nor desired to hold her Crown by any other Tenure than the Statute of the 35th of her *Father's* Reign. In the 13th of her own Reign, she declar'd it by Law *high Treason*, during her Life, and a *Premunire*, after her Decease, to deny the Power of *Parliament*, in limiting and binding the Descent and Inheritance of the Crown, or the Claims to it; and whatever private Motives there were for putting to Death *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, her claiming a *Right*, in Opposition to an *Act of Parliament*, was the Foundation of the publick Proceedings against Her.

Such Examples, as We have quoted, ought to have had some Weight with King *James*. A Prince, who had worn the Crown of *Scotland*, under so many Restraints, and in so great Penury, might have contented Himself, one would think, to hold That of

England, whose Pensioner he had been, by the same Tenure, and to establish his Authority on the same Principles, as had contented the best and greatest of his *Predecessors*; but his Designs were as bad as Those of the very worst Princes, who went before Him.

Happily for *Great Britain*, He wanted the Capacity of *Henry the seventh*; the Resolution of *Henry the eighth*; and the favourable Opportunities, which They had the Luck to find, or the Art to contrive, of raising *Prerogative*, acquiring *Wealth*, and encroaching on *Liberty*.

We observ'd, in discoursing on the Reign of *Henry the seventh*, that He had laid the Foundations of an exorbitant Power, before the Nation was well aware of what He intended. ——— King *James*, on the contrary, shew'd his whole Game from the first. Besides the Pleasure, which his Vanity found in boasting of an *absolute, independent Right, to the Crown, inherent in Himself*, He imagin'd that the Transition would be easy, and so indeed it prov'd amongst many, from *This* to some *other useful Apothegms*. He hop'd to get, and He did get, an *Act of Recognition of his Right of Succession*; for We cannot persuade ourselves, with *Rapin*, that He was indifferent on this Point; and though *this Act*, as well as the *Oath of Supremacy*, which had been establish'd long before, and That of *Allegiance*, which was establish'd soon after, is in itself, as it hath proved in Effect, but a feeble Prop to support the Pretence of *hereditary Right*; yet King *James* certainly look'd on it as an Admission of his Claim, and meant a real Advantage, where the *Parliament* very probably meant nothing more than a Compliment. ——— *This Prince* brought with Him the true Spirit of a *Missionary*; and, by preaching a *new Doctrine*, endeavour'd to establish a *new Power*. From the Notion of *independent Right* was deduced the Notion of *independent Authority*; a *Right* superior to *Law*; an *Authority* unbounded by it; a
Right,

Right, which could not be proved; an *Authority*, which might not be defined.—The Inference from both These was obvious. This *independent King* must be accountable to *God alone*. He could not be accountable to *Man*.

If this excellent System of *Policy* could have been generally imposed, his sacred Majesty might have batten'd, with great Ease and Delight, in the full Sunshine of *arbitrary Power*; and that He should succeed in imposing it, his *own Vanity* and the servile Flattery of his *Ministers* had made Him to expect. True it is, that the Language He held was not so plain, nor the Efforts He made so direct and violent, in the Beginning of his Reign, as They grew soon afterwards; but yet, if We consider the Multitude of his *Proclamations*; the Nature of some; the Stile of all; the Obedience He exacted to them; the *Acts of Power*, which he exercised; Those, which he essay'd; and many other Particulars of his Conduct, which for Brevity We omit; We must of Course conclude that He thought Himself sure, at that Time, of laying the Foundations, since He prepar'd to erect so great a Superstructure. He was deceived. Instead of making his Impositions pass on the People, He only awaken'd their Jealousy. He had, in his own Age, and He hath, in ours, the Demerit of beginning a Struggle between *Prerogative* and *Privilege*; and of establishing a Sort of Warfare between the *Prince* and the *People*. But the *Spirit of Liberty* baffled all his Designs. The *Spirit of Liberty* was not enervated by *Luxury* in those Days. It was not only alive, but vigorous and active. it rose in the Nation, as That of *Faction* rose at Court. The *same Principle*, which comply'd with Queen *Elizabeth*, resisted King *James*. The *Opposition* began as soon as the *Invasion*; and *Tyranny* was, at least, nipt in the Bud.

King *James* made one Attempt, indeed, in the Beginning of his Reign, which bid fairer for Suc-

cess than any of Those, which He made afterwards; and which, if it had succeeded, would have done the great Work of his Reign by Means more silent and more dangerous; more soft in Appearance, and more deadly in Effect. We mean the Attempt He made on the Privileges of the *House of Commons*, in the Case of *Elections*. In the *Proclamation*, for calling his *first Parliament*, He assumed a new and unjustifiable Prerogative, by his Manner of prescribing to the *Electors* and to the *Elected*; and by subjecting both to severe Penalties, if they fail'd, not only against the *Laws and Statutes*, but against the *Purport, Effect and true Meaning of his Proclamation*. In the Course of the Session, He endeavour'd to put *this Prerogative* in Execution, by insisting, *first*, that the *Commons* should confer with the *Lords*; and when This was refused, that They should confer with the *Judges*, on the Merits of an *Election* and *Return* for the County of *Buckingham*, which They had already heard and decided. If the *King* had prevailed in this Attempt of *garbling the House of Commons*, He would have prevail'd very probably in That, which he made some Time afterwards, of *imprisoning and punishing the Members of it*. Thus He might have intimidated Those, by *one Prerogative*, whom He could not exclude by the *other*. Such an *Influence* as must have resulted from hence, join'd to That, which the *executive Power* gives unavoidably to every King, would soon have render'd the *House of Commons* as dependent upon Him, as the *House of Lords*, at that Time, appeared to be; for if *Money gets Money*, (which will not, we suppose, be deny'd in this *stockjobbing Age*) it is no less true, and perhaps no less visible, that *Influence begets Influence*. Now We apprehend that, in this Case, the Barrier of *Liberty* had been totally destroy'd, and that King *James* would have virtually been in Possession of *arbitrary Power*; for whether the *Will of the Prince becomes a Law*, by Force

of *Prerogative*, and independently of *Parliament*; or whether it is made so, upon every Occasion, by the Concurrence of *Parliament*, *arbitrary Power* is alike established. The only Difference lies here. Every Degree of *this Power*, which is obtain'd without *Parliament*, is obtain'd against the *Forms*, as well as against the *Spirit* of the Constitution; and must therefore be obtained with Difficulty, and possess'd with Danger. Whereas in the other Method of obtaining and exercising *this Power*, by and with *Parliament*, if it can be obtained at all, the Progress is easy and short; and the Possession of it is so far from being dangerous, that *Liberty* is disarmed, as well as oppressed, by *this Method*; that Part of the Constitution, which was instituted to oppose the Encroachments of the *Crown*, the Male-Administration of *Men in Power*, and every other *Grievance*, being influenc'd to abet *these Encroachments*, to support *this Male-Administration*, and even to concur in imposing the *Grievances*. — National Concurrence can be acquired only by a *good Prince*, and for *good Purposes*; because *publick Good* alone can be a national Motive. But King *James* was not ignorant that *private Good* may be rendered a superior Motive to *particular Men*, and that it is morally possible to make even *Parliaments* subservient to the worst Purposes of a *Court*. *Richard the second*, by influencing the *Elections*, and Queen *Mary*, by corrupting the *Members*, had created such a *Dependence of the Parliament on the Court*, that the *first* had well nigh established, in Spight of all other Opposition, his absolute Power; and that the *latter* was able to subvert what her *Father* and her *Brother* had done; to govern with the utmost Cruelty; and to sacrifice the Interests of the *Nation* to Those of an *Husband*, whom she took against the general Inclination of her People. — If therefore King *James* could have created the *same Dependence*, He might have promised Himself the *same Suc-*

cess. He might have govern'd in great Quiet and Safety, with the Concurrence of *Parliament*, tyrannically at home, and ignominiously abroad. He might have beggar'd the Nation, as He beggar'd Himself, and have given an absolute Dominion over both to *one insolent and incapable Minister*. But this Concurrence could not be obtained ; because the *Dependence of Parliaments upon the King* could not be created. By asserting their *Privileges*, They prevented any direct and open Influence of the *Crown*. Had King *James* been *rich* ; (and it was in his Power to have been so) had *Luxury* and the Offspring of *Luxury*, *Corruption*, both which He introduc'd, prevail'd in the Body of the *People*, an *indirect* and *private Influence* might have been established ; this Nation might have been enslav'd by the least-belov'd and most-despis'd of all her Kings. But the King continued *poor*, and the Nation *honest* ; this *indirect* and *private Influence* was either not attempted, or attempted without Effect ; and We are persuaded that no *Advocate* for it could have been found, even in this Reign, or the next. There were Men wicked enough to ascribe such Powers to the *King*, as would have destroyed effectually the Powers of *Parliament* ; but there was no Man absurd, as well as wicked enough, to allow those Powers, which are given to *Parliament* by the Constitution, and to argue for an *Expedient*, which must of Course render them ineffectual, or pervert them to Purposes opposite to Those, for which They were instituted. Thus *Liberty* was preserv'd, by preserving the *Independency of Parliaments*. The Proceedings of the *Commons*, in the whole Course of the Affair We have mentioned, were extremely moderate. They went farther, not only in Expressions and outward Demonstrations of Respect and Submission, but in real Compliances, than could have been expected, or than was perhaps strictly right ; and when an *Expedient* was fallen upon to draw the *King*, with some

Repu-

Reputation, out of the Contest, They gave Way to it, although by admitting a *Writ for the Election of a Member*, in the Room of one, whose Election They had allowed, They suffered a Precedent to be established, which might be turn'd against them. But the *Spirit of Liberty*, though easily alarm'd, is slow to resent even great Provocations, and to act with Violence, even against the worst Princes. Repeated Injuries, imminent and extreme Danger can alone bring Things to such a Pass; and *no King* of this Nation was ever distress'd by his *People*, without receiving frequent Warnings, as well as accumulating insupportable Grievances. King *James* felt some Part of this Distress in Process of Time. He deserv'd it perhaps already. The *Commons* however contented Themselves, in an Address to Him, to assert their *Privileges*, and to complain of this Invasion of them, amongst *other Grievances*. — The Proceedings of Parliament were carried on, in subsequent Sessions, with the same Moderation and Temper. In That, which followed the Discovery of the *Gunpowder Treason*, the *Oath of Allegiance* was impos'd; and this Pledge of Fidelity, for the future, was the sole Hardship, (for such the Court of *Rome* and a great Number of that Communion esteem'd it) which the *Roman-Catholick Party* drew on Themselves by so execrable an Attempt. The *Parliament* comply'd, on this Occasion, with the King, probably against their *own Sentiments*; since nothing could be more different than *his Notions* and *theirs*, concerning the Conduct to be held with *Papists*, and even concerning *Popery* itself; and since the Favour He shew'd, not to say the Court he made, to *this Party* had already created great Uneasiness, and began to be a most unpopular Part of his Government. — He had no *War* on his Hands, and his Revenues were at least as considerable as Those of the late Queen. The *Commons* however gave Him one of the greatest Supplies, which had

ever

ever been given in Parliament ; and upon this Occasion it may not be improper to observe, in Confirmation of what We have advanc'd already, that the natural Bent of the *People*, to live well with their *Kings*, is so strong that *Parliaments*, under no other Influence than This, will neglect nothing to gain them ; nay, that a Prince like King *James*, disliked, distrusted, despised, may prevail on his *Parliament*, for a Time, and till all Hopes of gaining Him are lost, to do as well as bear in his Favour, what would not be attempted in a better Reign, nor succeed perhaps, if it was attempted.

His Design of uniting the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* fail'd. It was too great an Undertaking for so bad a Workman. We must think that the general Arguments against it were grounded on Prejudice ; on false and narrow Notions. But there were other Reasons, drawn from the Jealousies of that Time, and from the Conduct of the *King*, who had beforehand declared all the *Post nati*, or Persons born since his Accession to the *English* Throne, naturaliz'd in the two Kingdoms ; and These were, without Doubt, the true Reasons, which prevail'd against the *Union*. — The next Time the Parliament assembled, to proceed on Business, was in the Year 1610, and by that Time the general Discontent of the Nation began to shew itself in loud and universal Murmurs. Some *Monopolies*, the rigid and impolitick Proceedings of the *High-Commission Court* and *Star-Chamber*, and many other Causes combin'd to raise them. But no particular Grievance either had, or deserved to have, so great an Effect as the continual Endeavours, which were used to establish Practices and Principles, absolutely destructive of the general Constitution of the *English* Government. — Such was the Attempt made by *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when he presented the *twenty-five Articles*, commonly call'd *Articuli Cleri*, and petitioned the
King

King to grant Prohibitions upon them. — Such again were the Books, published by *Cowel* and *Blackwood*, asserting that the *King* is neither bound by the *Laws*, nor by his *Coronation-Oath*; that He hath a Right to make *Laws* and impose *Taxes*, without the Consent of *Parliament*; and that the Nation was reduced to a State of Slavery by the *Norman Conquest*. — Such, to conclude this Head, were the many *Acts*, which the *King* himself had done, and the many *Declarations*, which He had made; nay, such was the *Declaration* He made in this very *Parliament*, when he affirm'd that although *all Kings, who are not Tyrants, or perjur'd, will bound Themselves within the Limits of their Laws*; yet as it is *Blasphemy* to dispute what God may do, so it is *Sedition* in Subjects to dispute what a King may do, in the Height of his Power. — These Doctrines were new, ungrateful and shocking to *English Ears*; yet the *Parliament* kept in Temper, and bore such Language from this fearful, bullying Prince, as the fiercest of his Predecessors, since *Richard the second*, had never presumed to hold. They took no Notice of *Bancroft*, nor pursued any farther Measures against *Cowel* and *Blackwood*, after these *Libels* had been call'd in by Proclamation, and the reading of them had been forbid. Nay, there was a *Subsidy* granted, in this very Session, with as little Pretence as there had been for granting the former. — All this Temper, Submission and Generosity of the *Parliament* were lost on the *King*. They would not connive at *Grievances*, nor sacrifice *Liberty*; and Those were the only Terms, upon which an Union with Him were to be obtained. — From the Year 1610 to 1614, He held no *Parliament*; and it is evident that He would never have call'd another, if his *Ministers* could have supply'd his Profusion by all the illegal and oppressive Means, which they used to raise Money on the People, and which We forbear to enumerate, because the most partial *Writers*, who have endeavoured

voured to excuse them, have not presumed to deny them. — Even under this Necessity, He did not take the Resolution of calling a new Parliament, till He was prevail'd on by his Favourite, *Somerſet*, who had form'd a Scheme for influencing the *Elections*, and, at the Head of ſeveral other *Undertakers*, flatter'd *Himſelf* and his *Maſter*, that He could get ſuch Members choſen *, *as ſhould comply ſolely to the King's Deſires*. But this Project proved abortive. *The Engliſh Freedom cannot be loſt*, (ſays *Wilson*; and may his Saying prove true to all future Generations!) *by a few baſe and tame Spirits, that would unmake Themſelves and their Poſterity, to aggrandize ONE MAN*. It happened to King *James*, as it happened to his *Son*. Diſgrace at *Court* proved a Recommendation in the *Country*; and the Faces, which appear'd in this new Parliament, made the Countenance of the *Court* to droop.

From this Time began that Conduct, on the Part of the *Court*, and on the Part of the *Parliament*, which continued to be held, with very fatal Uniformity, till it ended in a *civil War*. That the *People* had Reason to be jealous of the Deſigns of the *Court*, hath appear'd and will appear ſtill more flagrantly in the Sequel; but that the *Court* had, at this Time, nay even in the Month of *May 1640*, when King *Charles* diſſolv'd the laſt Parliament He had it in his Power to diſſolve, any Reason to be jealous of the *Parliament*, or the *People*, We deny; and are able to juſtify our Denial by *Fact* and *Authority*; even the Authority of my Lord *Clarendon*. — But the *Father* and the *Son*, and eſpecially the former, having no End in calling their *Parliaments* but to get *Money* from their *People*, and to evade, rather than reſuſe, the Redreſs of *Grievances*; the Art of the *Court* was conſtantly employed, under Preſence of the Urgency of Affairs, and in the Parlia-

ment of 1614, without any Pretence at all, to get the *Subsidies* first dispatched. The *Commons*, on the other Side, who knew for what they were call'd together, and who expected that little Time would be allow'd them to enquire into *Male-Administration* and to represent *Grievances*, when they had once given the *Money*, insisted for the most Part (for there happened Occasions, in which They did not insist) that the Consideration of *Grievances* should precede, or at least go an equal Pace with That of the *Supply*. This was the Rock, on which so many *Parliaments* split. This alone occasioned the Dissolution of That We are speaking of, and made King *James* resolve, though he could not support his Resolution to the End of his Reign, to govern by his *Prerogative* alone, and without the Assistance of his *Parliament*; that is, to avow *absolute Power*. O



N^o 250. SATURDAY, April 17, 1731.

Remarks on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. Oldcastle.



IN our last Discourse, concerning the Pretensions set up, and the Attempts made by King *James* against the Freedom of the *English* Constitution, We carried these Remarks down to the Year 1614. We chose to stop there, because it seems to be the very diametrical Point of Opposition, or a Point very near to That, between the Government of *this Prince* and the Government of Queen *Elizabeth*, which We have so largely insisted upon. —

The

The Distrust between *Him* and his *People* was now intirely form'd. His *offensive* and their *defensive* Pretensions were now fully explain'd. An Union of Affection between *Him* and his *People*, which the *latter* still desired and had long courted, was now grown desperate. An Union, unworthy of a free People, a factious Union between the *Parliament* and the *Court*, founded in the Dependance and Submission of the *former*, and so much affected by the *latter*, was after many Trials become evidently impracticable. The King, as He had managed Affairs, could neither govern *with Parliament*, nor *without it*; and those Powers, which are design'd to be mutual Helps, were turn'd to be mutual Clogs on one another; not by any Deviation on the Side of the *People*, or of their *Representatives*, from the true Line of Government; but by a manifest and almost continual Deviation from it, on the Side of the *Crown*.

Thus were those great Disorders in Government and that national Confusion rais'd, which in a few Years more destroy'd the whole Constitution. In short, that melancholy Scene, which had been preparing ever since the Accession of King *James*, was open'd about this Time, and continued open with few Variations, every one of which was for the worse, till that Tragedy began, wherein the noblest as well as the meanest Blood in the Nation was shed so profusely, and with the Beginning of which We purpose to conclude *these Remarks*.

We have charg'd the whole, and We think very justly, to the Account of King *James*; who attempted to govern *England* by foreign, not by *English* Maxims; nay, by such as He was unable to govern his own Country. Sure We are, that no Part of it can be laid to the Constitution, or People of *England*. The Constitution was the same in his Time as in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and the People claimed, under *Him*, no other Privileges,
nor

nor Powers, than They had enjoyed under *Her*. It was his Fault, not theirs, if by treading in the same Path, which had kept them united with *Her*, They were divided from *Him*. These are Points, on which We think it proper to insist a little more in this Place, in order to cast a greater Light on the Particulars, which follow, and to avoid any prolix Repetitions, when We come to wind up the whole.

King *James* had open'd the Parliament, which met in 1614, by asking Money for the Portion and other Expences of his Daughter's Marriage to the *Electoꝛ Palatine*, and promised the *Commons* Leave and Leisure to enquire into *Grievances*, when They had comply'd with this Demand; but Distrust, the Bane of all Harmony, prevail'd amongst *Them*, as it is plain even from this conditional Promise that it prevail'd with *Him*, and They resolv'd to begin the Work of the Session by a Representation of *Grievances*.

A principal Article in this Roll was the Growth of *Popery*, encouraged no doubt by several Passages in the Conduct of King *James*, and particularly by two; his employing not only suspected, but known *Roman-Catholicks* in Offices of the highest Trust and Consequence; and his avowed Design of marrying his Son to some Princess of that Religion. Shall We say, in the Stile of King *James*, that it was *Presumption in the Commons* to meddle in such deep *Matters of State*? Shall We not rather think it was *Presumption in the Prince* to determine a Matter, of this Importance to the publick Welfare, to the present and to future Generations, without the Advice, nay against the Opinion of the *great Council of the Nation*? Shall We not rather applaud the Wisdom and Foresight, as well as the Virtue of those Men, who discover'd the Fruit in the Seed; whose Minds foreboded all the mischievous Consequences of such

an Alliance, and who did their utmost to prevent the true, original Cause of our greatest Misfortunes?

Under another Head of *Grievances*, complain'd of at this Time, were the *Monopolies*, and many illegal Exactions of Money from the People. The *Parliament* had the more Reason to lose no Time, and to spare no Endeavours in putting a Stop to these Encroachments on *Liberty*, because the longer They lasted, the more familiar They grew. The *Court* improved in the Practice of them. The *People*, who submitted to them by Force, might have been brought to submit to them by Custom, and the *King* might become able in Time to supply his Wants *without the Assistance of Parliament*; a Case almost as desperate as That of his being able to supply them when, in what Manner, and in what Proportions He thought fit, *by the Assistance of Parliament*. We say *almost as desperate*, on the Principles touch'd in our last Paper; for, in the first Place, if *King James* could have supplied his Wants *without Parliaments*, He would certainly have call'd none, and the Condition of this Nation had been worse than that of *Spain*, of *France*, and of other Nations, whose Examples have been, absurdly enough, quoted to justify these arbitrary Methods of *raising Money*, and to induce Mankind to submit to them. In *France*, for Instance, the People must suffer; but they may complain. Their Mouths are open; that is, their *Parliaments* may represent; and even remonstrate; nay, they have gone so far, as to refuse with Success to register and give the necessary Forms of a Law to an Edict of the *Prince*, which they judged oppressive to the People. But if *King James* had prevailed; He would have governed without even these Shadows of a *Parliament*. The People must have suffer'd and could not have complain'd. Their sole Mouth, the Mouth of *Parliament*, would have been stopp'd, and Redress of *Grievances* being no longer attainable by the Applications of their representative

sentative Body, which would have no longer existed; they must have submitted tamely and silently, or have sought a Remedy in their *collective Body*, which can only act by Resistance, and Force. This Situation would have been bad enough, God knows; yet not so bad as the other; for, in the second Place, if the *Parliament* had been made *dependent on the Crown*, (no Matter by what Kind of Influence; whether by the Distribution of *Honours*, the Translation of *Bishops*, the corrupting the *Electors* and the *Elected*, or the other Methods King *James* took) the Mouth of the People had not been stopp'd indeed; but it had been form'd to speak another Language than That of the Heart. — The *People* must have suffer'd, and the *Parliament* must have rejoic'd. — If *They* had felt an increasing Load of Debt, the *Parliament* must have testify'd great Satisfaction at the Diminution of it. — If *They* had felt the Decay of Trade, and the Growth of national Poverty, the *Parliament* must have boasted of the Wealth and flourishing State of the Kingdom. — If *They* had seen the Interest and Honour of the Nation, as they saw it too often, neglected or sacrific'd, the *Parliament* must have exulted in the Triumphs of both. — In short, such a *depending Parliament* must not only have conniv'd at the Grievances of their Country, but have sanctify'd Them too. They must not only have borne the Rod, but have kiss'd it too; not only the Rod of their *Prince*, but the Rod of some *upstart Minister*, who ow'd his Elevation to his Dishonour, and his Favour to his Shame. — But as the Integrity of *Parliament* secured the Nation from any Danger of *this Kind*; so the Necessities of the *King* were the great Security against any Danger of the *other*. — Was the *Parliament* therefore to blame, who oppos'd strenuously every Innovation set on Foot, to lessen this Security?

A *third Grievance*, which the *Parliament* desired to have redress'd, was that incredible Waste, which King *James* made of the *Revenues* of the *Crown*. These *Revenues* were, at that Time, so much more than sufficient for all the ordinary Occasions of the Government, that Queen *Elizabeth*, who had so many extraordinary Occasions of Expence, who paid so many old Debts, without contracting new, and atchieved such glorious Enterprizes abroad, as well as at home, did not receive in Grants from her People above * *four Millions* in more than *forty Years*. — If King *James*, who had no extraordinary Occasions of Expence, who paid no Debts, who atchiev'd no glorious Enterprizes any where, had neither ask'd Money, nor rais'd it without asking, the squandering his Revenue had not probably come under Debate in *Parliament*; but, since He expected that the *People* should provide for his Debts, and supply his Necessities, it was just that the *Representatives of the People* should examine how They were contracted. The immense Estates, which were made in these Days at Court, the known Corruption not only of *inferior Agents*, but of *principal Ministers*, and even of *Those*, who were at the Head of the *Treasury*, made such an Examination the more necessary, and provoked and excited the more to it. The House of *Commons* would have thought that They had betrayed their Trust, if They had neglected so important a Part of it. By the Proceedings, as well as Declarations of the *Parliaments*, in these Times, it is plain that they thought they had not an arbitrary, but only a conditional Power, over the *Purse* of the Nation, though the Strings of

* We do not want to be told that the Value of Money was very different at that Time from what it is now; but though We admit of the highest Calculations, this Sum will appear surprizingly small for so many Years, when compar'd with the Profusion and Extravagance of some later Reigns.

it were in their Hands; that They were to tax the *People* in no greater Proportion than was strictly necessary to support the Honour and Interest of the Nation, and the Dignity of the Crown; that They could make no Judgment, concerning this Proportion, if They had not a full Communication of the Nature of the *Service*, for which extraordinary Aids were demanded; and if They did not examine, before They granted these Aids, how the ordinary Revenues and any precedent, extraordinary Grants had been apply'd. Such Maxims as These will not be condemn'd, we presume. They have been always profess'd and frequently pursued, from the Time We speak of down to the Age, in which We live. Since the Reign of King *William the third*, our Princes have indeed stood on a different Foot. They have had a *distinct Revenue* assigned to Them for their particular Use. The *annual Expences* and the *Debts of the Nation* have been separately provided for by Parliament; and yet not only the Management and Application of these *annual Grants*, but also the immense Property of the *Creditors of the Publick* have been left to the *Crown*, as the Management and Application of *those Revenues* were, which belong'd properly to the *Crown*, and by Deficiencies, on which the *Crown*, not the *Nation*, was immediately affected. It is no Wonder therefore if our *Parliaments* have thought Themselves obliged, since this great Alteration, sometimes by *Committees*, and sometimes by *extraordinary Commissions*, to inspect more narrowly into Revenues, which are still managed by the Officers of the *Crown*, though They make no longer any Part of the Estate of the *Crown*; and We persuade ourselves that no honest Man would be sorry, if the Wisdom of our *present Representatives* should think fit to make any Inquisitions of the same Nature; but even before this Alteration, before the Settlement of a *civil List*, and when our Princes stood on the same Foot as King *James the*

first, with Respect to their private and publick Revenue, the Maxims We speak of were pursu'd on many Occasions, and always with the universal Applause of the People. In the Reign of King Charles the *second*, for Instance, our *Whig-Patriots* endeavour'd not only to detect and punish *Frauds* and *Abuses*, by Enquiries into the Management of the publick Money; but to prevent them likewise, by appropriating what they gave to the Uses, for which it was given; and thus much We think may suffice, to clear the Conduct of the *Parliament* of 1614 from any Imputations on this Head.

Let us mention, in this Place, one Grievance more, which We have touch'd upon in another. A *former Parliament* had taken some Notice of it, and *this Parliament* would probably have taken more, if the King had allow'd Them Time. The Doctrines, which established the unbounded and ineffable Prerogative of the King; which reduced the Privileges of *Parliament* to be no longer an *antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*, but deriv'd them from the *Permission and Toleration of the Crown*, and declared them liable to be *retrench'd* at the Will of the Prince; and which by necessary Consequence chang'd at once the Nature of the *English Constitution*, from That of a *free* to That of an *arbitrary Government*; all these Doctrines, We say, or the Principles on which They were establish'd, had been already publickly and frequently asserted by King *James*. They were the Language of the *Court*; and a *Party* had been form'd in the Nation, who made Profession of them. They were maintain'd in Conversation. They were plead'd for in *Print*; and they became soon afterwards the Disgrace and Prophanation of the *Pulpit*.

We have sometimes compar'd, in our Thoughts, these Usurpations of King *James* over the Privileges of his People to Those of the *Popes*, which gave that Prince so much Offence, over the Rights of the *Emperors*, and indeed over the civil Rights of Mankind.

kind. *Charlemagne* had made these Priests Princes. They continued, for about 260 Years, to submit, in the main, to those Rules, which the *imperial Constitutions* and *ecclesiastical Customs* had establish'd; after which They started, at once, out of these Bounds. They would be *limited Pontiffs*, no longer, but *arbitrary high Priests*, like the *Dairo* of *Japan*, something more than human, and *civil* as well as *ecclesiastical Tyrants*. They scorn'd to go to *Tyranny* by Degrees, but carried their *Usurpations* at one Leap to the utmost Pitch of Extravagance. *Alexander the second* denied the Right of the *Emperors* to chuse, or to confirm the Election of a *Pope*. His *Successor* took the *Investitures* from them. *Henry the fourth* asserted the *imperial Rights*, in Opposition to this Invasion; but *Gregory the seventh* asserted, in Opposition to Him, that *Rome* was the Capital of the World; that the *Pope* was independent of all Powers on Earth; that *Kings* and *Emperors* were liable to be depos'd by the Plenitude of his Authority. The *Pope* was believed by many, on his Word; and there were more, who found their private Account in seeming to believe Him. *Factions* were raised to maintain these Principles. They were consecrated by the *Church*. They prevailed in those Days. More than *five Centuries* were not sufficient to abolish the *Practice*, and more than *six* have not been sufficient to extirpate the *Principle*. True it is, that these *Popes* had several Advantages, which *King James* had not; and, amongst others, the Minority of *Henry the fourth* at the Time, when They began this monstrous *Usurpation*; whereas when *King James* set up his Pretensions, and talk'd, and writ of *Prerogative*, in Terms as ridiculous and full of as much Bombast as Those, which the Briefs and other publick Acts of *Hildebrand* contain'd, the *Commons* of *England* were grown up to a full Maturity of Property and Power. Shall We condemn them for endeavouring to preserve the *Principles of Liberty*, that They might preserve the Spirit

of

of it, and by preserving the *Spirit*, deserve and secure the Continuance of so great a Blessing? Should an *English Parliament* have sat quiet and silent, in humble Dependance on the *Prince*, whilst Slavery in Speculation, as well as Practice, was making such large Advances; whilst the Laws of the Land, the Laws of Nature, and Those of God Himself were perverted to impose a Yoke of base and servile Prejudices on the Understandings and Consciences of Mankind? We think not. Sure We are that our *Parliaments* have been always watchful to censure and explode, in Time, such Doctrines as might, even by Induction and Consequence, weaken the Foundation of *Liberty*. The Instances of this Kind are so well known and some of them so recent, that We need not quote them. But, in order to justify still farther the Sense and Conduct of our Forefathers, let us appeal even to the present Sense of Mankind. We all know that there are *mercenary* and *abandon'd Wretches* amongst us, who have dared to plead for a *Dependance of the Parliament on the Crown*; not for that *Dependance of the several Parts of the Government on one another*, which our Constitution hath formed, and on the Preservation of which the Freedom of our Government intirely rests; but for the most *indirect*, the most *iniquitous*, as well as *dangerous Dependance* imaginable; for a *Dependance*, to be created by *Corruption*, which must always produce Effects as infamous as its Cause. *Corruption*, We say, hath been defended, nay, recommended (for We will repeat the Assertion) as a necessary Expedient of Government. The Representation of the Country by the *independent Gentlemen* of the Country hath been saucily and awkwardly ridiculed; as if a *Bill*, to prevent all Persons, who have neither *Places* nor *Pensions*, from sitting in Parliament was proper to be pass'd, and those salutary Laws, which are in Force for preventing Persons, who have *Places* and *Pensions*, from sitting there were as pro-

per

per to be repeal'd. Nay, *these Incendiaries*, who go about to destroy our Constitution, have not blush'd in the same Breath to admit that *standing Armies* have been generally the Instruments of over-turning *free Governments*; and to affirm that a *standing Army* is necessary to be kept up in ours; if you ask Them against *whom*, They answer you very frankly, against the *People*; if you ask them *why*, They answer you with the same Frankness, because of the *Levity* and *Inconstancy* of the *People*. This is the *Evil*; an *Army* is the *Remedy*. Our *Army* is not design'd, according to these *Doctors of Slavery*, against the *Enemies* of the Nation, but against the *Nation*. We are confident that the *present Army* is incapable of being employ'd to such Purposes and abhors an Imputation, which might have been justly cast on *Cromwel's Army*, but is very unjustly insinuated against the *present*.

Now let us suppose that the Time was come, when the Parliament should think fit to censure and put a Stop to the Influence of such Writings as These; would any honest Man, if He laid his Hand upon his Heart, disapprove their Proceedings? On the contrary, would not every Man, who wish'd that the Constitution of this Government might be preserv'd, applaud such Measures and bless the Representatives of his Country for their Zeal against the Betrayers of it?

Upon the whole Matter, We think it very plain that the Alarm, which was taken at the Propagation of these infamous Doctrines, in the Reign of King *James the first*, is abundantly justified not only by the Examples of *other Parliaments*, but by the general Sense of Mankind in all Ages.

Whenever the Fundamentals of a free Government are attacked, or any other Schemes, ruinous to the general Interest of a Nation, are pursued; the best Service, that can be done to such a Nation, and even to the Prince, is to commence an *early* and
vigorous

vigorous Opposition to them; for the Event will always shew, as We shall soon see in the present Case, that Those, who form an Opposition, in this Manner, are the truest Friends to Both, however They may be stigmatiz'd at first with odious Names, which belong more properly to Those, who throw the Dirt at Them.

If the *Opposition* begin late, or be carried on more faintly, than the Exigency requires, the Evil will grow; nay it will grow the more by such an Opposition, till it becomes at length too inveterate for the ordinary Methods of Cure; and whenever That happens; whenever Usurpations on national Liberty are grown too strong to be check'd by these ordinary Methods, the People are reduced to this Alternative. They must either submit to *Slavery* and *Beggary*, the worst of all political Evils; or They must endeavour to prevent the impending Mischief by *open Force* and *Resistance*, which is an Evil but one Degree less eligible than the other. But when the *Opposition* is begun early and carried on vigorously, there is Time to obtain Redress of Grievances, and put a Stop to such Usurpations by those gentle and safe Methods, which their Constitution hath provided; Methods, which may and have often proved fatal to *wicked Ministers*, but can never prove fatal to the *Prince* Himself.——He is never in Danger but when these *Methods*, which all arbitrary Courts dislike, are too long delay'd.

The most plausible Objection to such Proceedings, and by which well-meaning Men are frequently made the Bubbles of Those, who have the worst Designs, arises from a false Notion of *Moderation*. True *political Moderation* consists in not opposing the Measures of Government; except when great and national Interests are at Stake; and when That is the Case, in opposing them with such a Degree of Warmth, as is adequate to the Nature of the Evil, to the Circumstances of Danger attending it, and even

even to Those of Opportunity. To oppose upon any other Foot; to oppose Things, which are not blame-worthy, or which are of no material Consequence to the national Interest, with such Violence as may disorder the Harmony of Government, is certainly *Faction*; but it is likewise *Faction*, and *Faction* of the worst Kind, either not to oppose at all, or not to oppose in earnest, when Points of the greatest Importance to the Nation are concern'd.

The Truth of all this Reasoning will be confirm'd by what remains to be said of King *James* and King *Charles* the first. — If there had not been an *early* and *honest* *Opposition*, in Defence of national Liberty, against King *James*, his Reign would have sufficed to establish Him in the Seat of *arbitrary Power*. — If the *Opposition* had been more generally back'd with the Weight of the *Nation* in due Time; if the *Court* had not been able to divide Men against their general Interest, upon Principles of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, King *James* must have comply'd in Time; the *Constitution* would have been resettled on its right Foundation; his Family would have been preserv'd; all our national Calamities would have been prevented; and the Sins of the Court might have been expiated by the Punishment of one or two of the *Ministers*. — But a *Prerogative Party* having been nurs'd up from the Beginning, and gain'd Strength in the whole Course of King *James's* Reign, the Strength of the Nation was divided, and the Contest continu'd so long between the *King* and the *People*, that *Resentment* and *Passion* and *Prejudice* and *Faction* took Place on all Sides. The soft and gentle Methods of Cure, which our Constitution had provided, became impracticable. A provok'd People sought their Remedy in *Resistance*. A *civil War* follow'd. The *English* Government was subverted, instead of being reform'd.

What hath been said will serve to justify the Conduct of the *Parliament*, as well as the general Alarm, which the *Nation* had taken in 1614. These were the

the Crimes, the heinous, unpardonable Crimes, for which King *James* dissolv'd this Parliament, with so much Indignation, after They had sat but a few Weeks, and had not Time given Them to pass even one Law. These were the Crimes, for which He confin'd to the *Tower* and *other Prisons*, and punish'd in *other Ways*, so many of the most active Members. Lastly, These were the Crimes, which made Him resolve, what He had before attempted, to govern *without Parliament*.——The particular Consequences of these Measures will appear in our next Paper, when We come to consider *his Conduct of our national Interests abroad, against the Sense of the Nation*; in which Period of Time, the *foreign Affairs* are so intermix'd with *parliamentary and domestick Affairs*, that We shall not divide them, but speak of them together, having first very briefly made our Observations on his *Management of Parties*. O.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

What this Treaty will prove, Thou can'st not divine;
His PEACE *Robin* holds; pr'ythee, *Caleb*, hold thine.



N^o 251. SATURDAY, April 24, 1731.

*Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit, oh pudor!*

HOR.



Have already received the Congratulations of one of my Correspondents on the late Convention, signed at *Vienna*; and I am assured that *another Gentleman*, of no small Importance, hath since done me the Honour to acknowledge that He hath reap'd great Advantage from my
Wri-

Writings; that He hath often corrected his Blunders and adjusted his Schemes by this Mirror; that the present hopeful Situation of Affairs is, in some Degree, owing to the Light, which I have held forth to Him, and to the Measures, which I have recommended. He hath done me the particular Honour to make a publick Confession that the Refusal of a Licence to some *French* Officers, who were actually arrived here, to recruit in *Ireland* proceeded, next to his Majesty's Wisdom, from my seasonable Admonitions; and that if I had not pointed out the Danger of such a Measure, He might have precipitated Himself into it, without being aware of the Consequences. As This was an evident Mark of my good Intentions towards that *excellent Person* and of my Concern for his Safety, when I found Him stumbling in the Dark; so is it likewise a remarkable Instance of his ingenuous Disposition, which makes Him scorn to take the Merit of any good Action to Himself, when it really and properly belongs to another.

Though *Gratitude* is the most sacred and amiable of all social Virtues, how rarely is it to be found even in private Life; how much more rarely in Courts? Such an Instance of it therefore deserves the highest Commendations, at a Time, when the opposite Vice was grown almost proverbial; especially in *great Men*.

As for myself, I confess such a publick Declaration, in favour of my poor Writings, was an Honour I did not expect, and the Reader can hardly conceive what a Credit it hath done me amongst my Acquaintance. I have had a Sort of *Levee* at my Chambers, every Morning since, to congratulate me on this Occasion. If I take a Turn in the Gardens, or step into *Squire's* Coffee-house, my Friends immediately croud about me with smiling Countenances, and by Turns catching me by the Hand; Well, *Caleb*, says one, *I wish thee Joy with*

all my Heart. Why thy Name is grown as familiar in the greatest Assemblies, as if Thou wert really a Minister of State. I believe no Benchers of Gray's-Inn had ever so much Honour done Him before—— Ay, ay, says another, *I always said it would come to This, and that the great Man would be oblig'd to own the Force of your Reasonings at last.——* It would be too gross an Affectation of Modesty to dissemble my Pleasure on this Occasion, or to seem the least offended with Compliments, which resulted from my Endeavours to serve my Country.

I could wish, indeed, that I had publish'd my Animadversions soon enough to have prevented the *Promise* to these Officers (which was certainly criminal) as well as the *Performance* of it; and that the *candid Gentleman*, who hath lately done me so much Honour, had paid the same Regard to what I offer'd to his Consideration above three Years ago, concerning *Dunkirk*, when the *French* began openly to repair that Place; or to what hath been often said about the perfidious Settlement at *santa Lucia*; the Depredations on our Merchants in the *west Indies*; the Works lately erected to render the Fort and Harbour of *Gibraltar* useless; and diverse other national Points, which have been insisted upon in this Paper for above four Years past. I could wish, I say, that the same Regard had been paid to these Particulars, because our Reasonings upon them have been too fully justified by the Course of Events; but it is well known to be my Misfortune that this *worthy Gentleman* hath long entertain'd some Prejudices against me, occasioned, as I conceive, by the Misrepresentations of a *little Faction of Scribblers*, who have made it their constant Endeavour to blow up the Coals of Discord between us; and to make their own Court to his Favour, by setting me forth as an Enemy to his Interest and Grandeur.——It is my particular Happiness, at present, that He seems, in a great Measure, to have overcome these Prejudices
against

against me, and begins to look upon me in a more favourable Light than he hath hitherto done; so that I hope it will not be now in the Power of such *ill-designing Men* to disturb that Harmony and good Understanding, which is visibly growing up between us.

In short, I have long found my Heart in a relenting Disposition towards Him. I have been often touch'd with Compassion, upon seeing Him so strongly attack'd and so very weakly defended. This Overture, on *his Side*, hath strengthen'd those Impressions, and I should not in the least doubt of seeing it soon end in a cordial Union and Friendship between us, if I had not unluckily published that wicked *Hague Letter*, about three Months ago, concerning a Negotiation at *Vienna*; for though it may be said, that every Tittle of it hath been verified by the Event; yet it might perhaps be improper, for several Reasons, to publish it at that Time, and let all the World know how far our Reconciliation was advanc'd? Who knew but that it might have been made an Argument against continuing the *Hessian Troops* in our Service for this Year? Who knew— But I will give no farther Reasons for my Imprudence upon this Occasion, lest I should divulge something, which may obstruct that long-desired Peace, that is now negotiating between us; for Friendship between *Politicians* (whether *practical*, or *theoretical*) is a Thing of a very tender Nature, and a *Word too much* often breaks all their Measures.

As Things therefore are at last brought into so fair a Way of Accommodation, and this unhappy Affair of the *Hague Letter* seems to be the only Obstacle, which can possibly prevent the Conclusion of an absolute Peace between us, I think it my Duty to justify myself as well as I can in that Matter.

It must be confess'd that my Correspondent from the *Hague* was so uncomplaisant as to charge the *Gentleman*, under Consideration, with a little Inconsistency

ency in his *new Measures*; but I desire it to be observ'd, in our Excuse, that when two Persons have been long *acting*, or *writing* (for *scribere est agere*, in one Sense) upon *Principles*, almost diametrically opposite, it is necessary for *one* of them to give Way and accede to the *other*, before They can be reconciled. Let us apply This to the present Case. I have constantly pleaded for an Alliance with the *Emperor*, in Preference to *France*; whereas my *worthy Friend* (for so I shall now call Him) hath contended as constantly for an Alliance with *France*, in Preference to the *Emperor*. What therefore was to be done in this Case? There was no middle Way left; for the Author of the *Considerations on the present State of Affairs* (printed just before the meeting of Parliament, this Year) observes very justly *that the Opposition between the Emperor and France must be constant in all junctures and Events*; so that it was impracticable to joyn Them both in a sincere Alliance with *Great Britain*; and consequently it was necessary for *one of us* to recede from his declared Attachment to *This*, or *that* Prince. My *Friend* hath been so good as to come over to *Me*; and I ought, no doubt, to be very proud of such a *Proselyte*; especially, as I could never prevail with myself to go over to *Him*.

The little Herd of Scribblers, who owe their Existence to the late Misunderstandings between that *honourable Gentleman* and *myself*, were immediately struck with the most dreadful Apprehensions, upon the first Prospect of an Accommodation between us. They seem'd sanguine enough to hope that my suppos'd Resentments against their *Patron* would induce me to reject any Overtures from Him; and as They are now oblig'd to espouse *my Cause*, They have spared no Pains to make me adopt *theirs*; but I scorn to rob Them of their distinguishing Attribute, *Inconsistency*, and shall always continue uniform in my *Principles*, however *Persons* and *Circumstances* may vary.

But

But let it be remember'd, at the same Time, that We never contended, even when We were suppos'd to be the most *Germaniz'd*, for any other Alliance with the *Emperor* than what should be upon equal, safe and honourable Terms. We never discover'd any Inclination to sacrifice the Interests of *Great Britain* to the Interests either of the *Empire*, or of the *imperial Family*. We never pleaded for the Necessity, or Expediency of *guarantying* the *Emperor's* Disposition of the *austrian Dominions*. On the contrary, we have often endeavour'd to shew the Inconveniencies of *Guaranties* in general; and the Author of the *Observations on the Treaty of Seville* examined (whom the Writers on the other Side have done me the Honour to list among the *D'Anverian Faction*) not only express'd his Apprehensions of *this Guaranty*, in particular, but very prophetically mark'd it out as the only Expedient of making up with the *Emperor* in those Circumstances, into which We had brought ourselves at that Time.—As This is said to be one of the *Articles* of the *late Treaty* (and even the *most beautiful Feature* of the *whole Composition*) I chuse to deliver my Sentiments upon it in the Words of that *excellent Writer*, because they were published above a Year ago, and therefore could not be calculated to serve the *present Occasion*. —They are as follow.

“ But the *Observer* will say, perhaps, (or some
 “ hireling Scribbler will say for Him) that We are
 “ brought into no Danger of a War with the *Em-*
 “ *peror*; that our *wise Ministers* have a Reserve still
 “ in their Power, and can make a Peace with his
 “ *Imperial Majesty*, whenever they please; that to
 “ effect it, nothing more will be necessary than to
 “ give our *Guaranty* to the Disposition, whatever it
 “ be, which his *Imperial Majesty* hath made, or
 “ shall make, of the *austrian Dominions*.

“ Such an *Expedient*, as This would, I doubt not
 “ be soon pass'd (if the immediate Danger of a War

“ press’d upon us) by *Those*, who think of nothing
 “ more than how to get over, by *annual Expedi-*
 “ *ents*, the *annual Difficulties* They bring themselves
 “ under, without any Regard to the continual
 “ Charge and frequent Losses, which the Nation is
 “ oblig’d to support, by their Management; or to
 “ the dangerous Consequences of their Measures.
 “ But Men, who think on wiser and honestest Prin-
 “ ciples, would look on *such a Guaranty as a Me-*
 “ *thod of Cure* very little preferable to the Disease
 “ itself.

“ His *Imperial Majesty* hath indeed given his *Gua-*
 “ *ranty* to the Succession of our Crown, establish’d
 “ in the present royal Family; but there would be
 “ no Parity between *such a Guaranty as This* and the
 “ *Guaranty of a Succession*, the Nature of which may
 “ be known by the *pragmatical Sanctions*; but the
 “ Descent of which into any *particular Family* can-
 “ not be foreseen.

“ Who could answer, in this Case, that We might
 “ not give our *Guaranty* even to the aggrandizing
 “ of *Don Carlos*, * which is an Event *our Politicians*
 “ have express’d their Apprehensions of in the strong-
 “ est Terms; altho’ They seem, at present, a little
 “ better reconcil’d to it?

“ Who could foresee the numberless Mischiefs, of
 “ which such a Disposition of the *austrian Dominions*
 “ might be productive, if his *Imperial Majesty* should
 “ die without *Issue Male*? What Clashing of Inte-
 “ rests might there not be even in the *Imperial Fa-*
 “ *mily*, as well as in every Part of the *Empire*?—
 “ To get clear of a War with *Spain*, We expose our-
 “ selves to a War, which may commence in *Italy*,

* If there should be any Article in the late Treaty, which
 excludes the House of Bourbon from this Succession, it is
 not impossible that my worthy Friend might pay the same
 Regard to our Advice in this Paragraph as He did in the
 Case of the Irish Recruits.

“ and

“ and spread much farther. — By the *Expedient*,
 “ now suppos’d, We might get clear of a War in
 “ *Italy*; but We should stand in Danger of being
 “ involv’d, a little sooner, or a little later, in a War,
 “ which may distract *Germany* as much, and last as
 “ long as That of 1618, and kindle its Fires all over
 “ *Europe*.

I shall add nothing upon this Head, at present; because it does not yet appear, from *Authority*, whether there actually is any such Article in the Treaty of *Vienna*, or under what Restrictions it is stipulated. I will only repeat that I am at Liberty to argue against *such a Guaranty*, as the Writers on the *other Side* are not at Liberty to argue for it, without *Inconsistency*.

But it will be said, perhaps, that the *Emperor* was not to be gained without it; and that as the *Gentleman*, of whom We are speaking, hath condescended to adopt *our Scheme* in the main, it would be ungenerous in us to boggle at an *Article*, or *two*, which We may not like. In Answer to This, I must take the Freedom (for there can be no true *Friendship* without some Freedom) to ask a few Questions. — Supposing then that it is at last found necessary to reconcile ourselves to the *Emperor*, and that it cannot be done without consenting to *this Guaranty*; I ask, might We not have reconciled ourselves to Him long ago upon the same Terms, and might We not have prevented, by doing so, the national Inconveniencies, Expences and even Calamities, to which We have been since expos’d? Would it not have been more eligible to return immediately into the right Road, even at the Expence of taking *this one dangerous Engagement*, than to take twenty others, that We might continue out of the Road, and *This* at last, that We might return into it? I ask again, whether We might not have avoided the Necessity of purchasing a Reconciliation, by avoiding an unnecessary Quarrel; a Quarrel, into which it
 hath

hath not been yet proved that *Great Britain* had one single Motive to enter; a Quarrel, which was push'd with Violence, till the *Hessians* were taken into Pay and other Securities for *lower Saxony* provided; and which was push'd no longer on our Part, though *Gibraltar* was besieg'd, our *Merchants* plundered, and our *Nation* insulted? Where was the Wisdom, which *some Persons* have affected, in *leading* the Negotiations and having always had the first Hand in a *Treaty*, though the Interests of their own Country were so little concern'd in it; or what Effect does such a *busy Spirit* commonly produce, besides involving Themselves in deeper Engagements and farther Difficulties? instead of refusing, or declining the sole Mediation between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, when it was offer'd us by both Parties, might We not have reasonably accepted it, nay courted it? If We had accepted it at the Time, when the *Infanta* was sent back, We could not have been reproach'd by *France*, since it was an Accident, occasioned by Themselves, which threw it into our Hands; and I will leave the World to judge, whether the Article in the *Hanover Treaty*, which stipulates that none of the Parties shall treat of, or enter into any Engagements, without a previous Communication to each other, hath not made some Alteration in the Circumstances of this Case. Would *France* have had more Pretence to complain of our Conduct in accepting the *Mediation* at that Time, than she hath to complain of our *late Negotiations*? Would there have been more Hazard in disobliging her *Ministers* at a Time, when They must have wanted our Assistance, because They were broken with *Spain*, than at a Time, when it does not appear that They want our Assistance either at home, or abroad? Were the Resentments of that Court to be fear'd then, and is there no Room to apprehend them now? Are We so sure of the meek and christian Disposition of the *good Car—l*, and of the Continuance of that Influence, which a *certain, arch Wag*

pre-

pretends to have over Him ? May We safely trust that We shall feel no Effects of the Resentment of *France*, upon the Word of *One*, who deceived us so often; when He answered for the Effects of her Friendship ? If these Questions should be answered, as such Questions commonly are, by false or partial States of Fact, and by mysterious Insinuations, concerning different Circumstances and different Measures, (the ordinary Cant of a *trifling M——r*, We think that the World is too well inform'd to be imposed upon, and We know very few Places, where such an Apology would be received.

Though We have asked these Questions, We are ready to allow that *it is never too late, in one Sense, to correct our Errors.* A *publick M——r* corrects them too late for the Publick, if he blunders on till every Opportunity of correcting them with national Advantage is lost, and till the People, who have suffer'd by the Evil, must suffer by the Cure likewise. But there is some Degree of Merit even in a *Death-Bed Repentance.* To confess and resolve to amend is some Merit. To confess and amend is more. Our *Proselyte* seems to be in the *latter* of these two Cases. The general Principle, on which the *late Treaty* hath been made, so directly opposite to That, on which We have taken so many other Engagements, is certainly right. To make up the present Differences by a Concert between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, though without the Participation of *France*, is a right Measure now, as it would certainly have been right many Years ago. To have decided these Differences in Concert with *France* and *Spain*, and even by a War with the *Emperor*, (agreeably to the Design of the renown'd Treaty of *Seville*) would have been as certainly wrong. There remains therefore nothing more to be wish'd for, at present, except This; that in the *Treaty* We speak of, or in *some other*, made at the same Time, in the *Treaty* sign'd by *British*, or in a *Treaty* sign'd by some *other Ministers*, there may be
no

no farther Articles (besides That of the *Guaranty of the Emperor's Succession*) which will give just Occasion to dislike, in the Particulars, what is so justly approved in general. I should be very sorry, for the Honour of my Country, if there should be any Article in this *new Treaty*, directly repugnant to any of the Engagements enter'd into by the Treaty of *Seville*. As much as I may disapprove, in general, the Scheme of the *one*, and as much as I may, in general, be inclin'd to like the *other*; yet contradictory Engagements always bring a Reproach upon the Nation, which enters into them. If therefore this Treaty should contain an Article, in which *England* alone engages itself not to enter into any general War at the Requisition of *Spain*, but on the contrary to treat all others as *Enemies*, who should do so; how would This be reconcileable to the Treaty of *Seville*; and much less to the *sixth secret Article*, mentioned in the Marquis de *Castellar's* Memorial? — But We heartily wish that there may be nothing contain'd in the *Treaty*, which will not give general Satisfaction, and We should wish it, though our Pacification with the *great Man* were not in so hopeful a Way as it is, and though Hostilities still continued between us; because, even in that Case, We should rather desire to see our *Country saved* than *Him punished*. He may assure Himself that We shall proceed in these candid and amicable Sentiments, and lay fresh Obligations upon Him, in Addition to Those, which He hath already acknowledged in so grateful a Manner. We shall defend Him strenuously against his *Scribblers*, his *Cabal* (for We know of no *Party* He hath) his *B——r* and *Himself*. If declining the *Mediation*, so often mentioned, was a right Measure; and if Those, which followed upon the same Principle, were right likewise, then are the *present Measures* demonstrated wrong. Now This being the Point, which his *Scribblers* have taken so much Pains to prove, and what his

his *Cabal* hath endeavour'd to establish by a more effectual Way than writing; This being the very Cause of his *Br——r*, by which that *busy, little Person* must stand or fall; and in Defence of which the *great Man* hath sometimes employ'd his Eloquence; if We defend Him, as We are in Honour oblig'd to do, (at least, on this Head) we must defend Him against all the *Persons*, whom We have named. We must defend the Politicks of 1731, against Those of 1725, and of the subsequent Years. That We are able to do This hath, We hope, appear'd on several Occasions, and it may prove, perhaps, an Inducement to the *great Man*, to become our *Profelyte* in more Cases; in his *domestick*, as well as in his *foreign Conduct*. He knows, and We know, how many Articles remain to be reformed in *both*, and how heavy a Load must some Time or other fall upon Him, if this Reformation is not made. If it be made, We solemnly promise to stand by Him and his *Measures*, in all such Cases, against the *Persons* just mention'd, and the *Measures* He hath hitherto pursued.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Amongst other good Effects, which Mr. *Oldcastle's* Remarks on the *English History* have produced, I observe with Pleasure the Taste They have given for this Kind of Study, and the Emulation They have inspir'd. I am particularly pleas'd with the Specimens, which Mr. *Walsingham* hath already given us of an *History of Patriotism*, and shall be glad to see Him continue that Work, because I have good Reasons to believe that it will occasion the Publication of ANOTHER *History of Patriotism* from the Year 1714, to the present Time. It will be a great Satisfaction to Me, and I believe to many others, to see the Interval from 1714 to 1725 supply'd; to see the *same History* carried on by two different Hands from the Year 1725; and to see due Justice done

done to those *able Ministers*, who have governed this Nation with so much Credit and Success. — I am assur'd that the *History* I mean will be vouch'd by unquestionable Authorities ; and that many important Passages, either not known, or not understood, will be revealed and explained, for the Honour and Glory of that *great Man*, in whose Service I soon expect to be engag'd by Virtue of that *Treaty of Peace*, which is now in such Forwardness between us, and which I hope will not be blasted by *Those*, who have hitherto found their Interest in that *great Man's* Errors and Danger. C. D.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

There being in the *London Evening Post*, of *Tuesday* last, a very extraordinary Letter to the Author of that Paper, in which Letter a Passage in the *Craftsman*, of *Saturday April 17*, is quoted as a Reflection on Words spoken by a *right reverend Prelate* of our Church, We think ourselves obliged to declare, *first*, that We had no Regard, in writing that Passage, to Words spoken by any Prelate, nor by any other Person whatsoever ; *secondly*, that We meant, in writing that Passage, to reflect on a scandalous Doctrine impudently asserted, and industriously propagated, in several *ministerial Pamphlets* and *Papers*, and particularly in a Pamphlet, intitled *Clodius and Cicero* ; *thirdly*, that We are extremely scandaliz'd at this *Letter-writer*, who pretends He heard the *Bishop* speak, took down his Words, and hath them before Him, and then presumes to quote such Words as it is impossible that *right reverend Father in God* could, at any Time, on any Occasion, in any Place, for any Reason, pronounce ; *fourthly*, that the Words quoted, as the *Bishop's* Words, are either empty Sounds, which convey no Idea at all, or do really defend the very abominable Doctrine, which the *Craftsman* hath attack'd ; and This We are ready to prove undeniably, if it shall be thought fit to insist any more on this Point. O

SATURDAY,

N^o 252. SATURDAY, *May 1, 1731.*

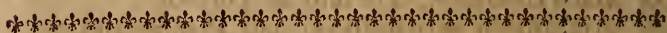
IS Grace, the late DUKE of MARLBOROUGH, hath been often mentioned in this Paper with that Veneration, which his immortal Actions deserve; not only from every *Briton*, but from every Man in *Europe*, who does not wish to see it fall under the Dominion of universal Monarchy. The Duke of *Marlborough* was indeed a *great Man*; as great as This or any former Age hath produc'd; perhaps I may add, as great as human Nature is capable of producing. Nor did his Grandeur consist only in the most important Posts, which He enjoyed; or in the high Titles, which several Monarchs confer'd upon Him; or even in those higher Honours, which the Voice of his Country decreed to Him in Parliament. These Honours were rather Monuments of Gratitude than Acts of Munificence. They were design'd to inspire others with an Emulation to serve their Country, by making such a publick Acknowledgment of his Services. They could not illustrate his Actions, but were justified by them. They may serve to perpetuate his Titles, but were needless to immortalize his Name.

As He had no Occasion to arrogate to Himself the Merit of any good, or great Action, which did not really belong to Him, or to keep a Set of Mercenaries in regular Pay to extol Him; so it would have been ridiculous to call upon Him for any particular Instance of national Points, which He had accomplish'd. The Knowledge of his great and glorious Atchievements

was not confined to a little Cabal of his own Creatures. Nations concurr'd, nay, vy'd in doing Him Justice; and *Europe*, which ow'd her Deliverance to Him, was the Trumpeter of his Fame.

The following short Enumeration of his unparallel'd Victories and Exploits, which is now inscribing on a monumental Pillar at *Blenheim*, in a plain, elegant, masculine Style, is the only Panegyrick They require. It is founded on Facts, universally known, as all just Panegyricks ought to be; and, to give it the highest Commendation, is worthy of the Memory of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

I was unwilling to let these Papers go forth into the World without *this Piece*, both as an Ornament to the Work and a Testimony of my Regard for the Memory of that great Hero. I am sure it will prove a most agreeable Entertainment to Those of my Readers, who may have no other Opportunity of seeing it. Another Reason had likewise some Weight with me; I mean the late Endeavours of some Hirelings to draw an awkward Parallel between his Grace of *Marlborough* and another Gentleman, who hath discover'd a manifest Affectation to vye with Him in Titles and exceed Him in Acquisitions, without the least Similitude of Character, Ability, or Service.



THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION, &c.

THE Castle of *Blenheim* was founded by Q. ANNE,
In the fourth Year of her Reign,
In the Year of the christian *Æra* 1705;
A Monument design'd to perpetuate the Memory of the
signal Victory

Obtained over the *French* and *Bavarians*,
Near the Village of *Blenheim*,
On the Banks of the *Danube*,

By

By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH;
 The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
 Whose Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
 Who by Wisdom, Justice, Candour and Address,
 Reconciled various, and even opposite Interests;
 Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority can give,
 Nor any Force but That of superior Virtue;
 Became the fixed important Center,
 Which united in one common Cause
 The principal States of *Europe*;
 Who by military Knowledge, and irresistible Valour,
 In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
 Broke the Power of *France*,
 When raised the highest, when exerted the most;
 Rescued the *Empire* from Desolation;
 Asserted, and confirmed the Liberties of *Europe*.

PHILIP, a Grandson of the House of *France*, united to the Interests, directed by the Policy, supported by the Arms of that Crown, was placed on the Throne of *Spain*. King WILLIAM the third beheld this formidable Union of two great, and once rival, Monarchies. At the End of a Life spent in defending the Liberties of *Europe*, he saw them in their greatest Danger. He provided for their Security in the most effectual Manner. He took the Duke of MARLBOROUGH into his Service.

Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
 To the STATES GENERAL of the united Provinces,
 The Duke contracted several Alliances before the Death of King WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved These. He contracted others, after the Accession of Queen ANNE; and re-united the Confederacy, which had been dissolved at the End of a former War, in a stricter and firmer League.

Captain General and Commander in Chief
 Of the Forces of GREAT-BRITAIN,
 The Duke led to the Field the Army of the Allies.
 He took with surprizing Rapidity *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*,

Stevenswaert, Liege. He extended and secured the Frontiers of the *Dutch*. The Enemies, whom he found insulting at the Gates of *Nimeghen*, were driven to seek for Shelter behind their Lines. He forced *Bonne, Huy, Limbourg* in another Campaign. He opened the Communication of the *Rhine*, as well as the *Maes*. He added all the Country between these Rivers to his former Conquests. The Arms of *France*, favoured by the Defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, had penetrated into the Heart of the *Empire*. This mighty Body lay exposed to immediate Ruin. In that memorable Crisis, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his Troops with unexampled Celebrity, Secrecy, Order, from the *Ocean* to the *Danube*. He saw; he attacked; nor stopped, but to conquer the Enemy. He forced the *Bavarians*, sustained by the *French*, in their strong Intrenchments at *Schellenberg*. He passed the *Danube*. A second royal Army, composed of the best Troops of *France*, was sent to reinforce the first. That of the Confederates was divided. With one Part of it the Siege of *Ingotstadt* was carried on. With the other the Duke gave Battle to the united Strength of *France* and *Bavaria*. On the second Day of *August*, 1704, he gained a more glorious Victory than the Histories of any Age can boast. The Heaps of Slain were dreadful Proofs of his Valour. A Marshal of *France*, whole Legions of *French*, his Prisoners, proclaimed his Mercy. *Bavaria* was subdued. *Ratisbon, Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen*, all the Uurpations of the Enemy, were recovered. The Liberty of the *Diet*, the Peace of the *Empire* were restored. From the *Danube* the Duke turned his victorious Arms towards the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*. *Landau, Treves, Traerbach* were taken. In the Course of one Campaign the very Nature of the War was changed. The Invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The Frontier

tier of *France* was exposed in its weakest Part to the Efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve this Advantage, that he might push the Sum of Things to a speedy Decision, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his Troops early in the following Year once more to the *Moselle*. They, whom he had saved a few Months before, neglected to second him now. They, who might have been his Companions in Conquest, refused to join him. When he saw the generous Designs he had formed frustrated by private Interest, by Pique, by Jealousy, he returned with Speed to the *Maes*. He returned; and Fortune and Victory returned with him. *Liege* was relieved; *Huy* re-taken; the *French*, who had pressed the Army of the *States-General* with superior Numbers, retired behind Intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced these Intrenchments, with inconsiderable Loss, on the seventh Day of *July*, 1705. He defeated a great Part of the Army, which defended them. The rest escaped by a precipitate Retreat. If Advantages proportionable to this Success were not immediately obtained, let the Failure be ascribed to that Misfortune, which attends most Confederacies; a Division of Opinions, where one alone should judge; a Division of Powers, where one alone should command. The Disappointment it self did Honour to the Duke. It became the Wonder of Mankind how he could do so much under those Restraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more absolute were given him afterwards. The Encrease of his Powers multiplied his Victories. At the opening of the next Campaign, when all his Army was not yet assembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the Field, the Noise of his Triumphs was heard over *Europe*. On the 12th of *May* 1706, he attacked the *French* at *Ramillies*. In the Space of two Hours the whole Army was put to

Flight. The Vigour and Conduct, with which he improved this Success, were equal to Those, with which he gained it. *Lonvain, Brussels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray* surrender'd. *Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth* were taken. *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered. Places, which had resisted the greatest Generals for Months, for Years; Provinces, disputed for Ages, were the Conquests of a Summer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general Interest, his Care extended to the remotest Scenes of the War. He chose to lessen his own Army, that he might enable the Leaders of other Armies to conquer. To This it must be ascribed that *Turin* was relieved; the Duke of *Savoy* re-instated; the *French* driven with Confusion out of *Italy*.

These Victories gave the Confederates an Opportunity of carrying the War on every Side into the Dominions of *France*. But She continued to enjoy a Kind of peaceful Neutrality in *Germany*. From *Italy* She was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire Reduction of this Power, whose Ambition had caused, whose Strength supported the War, seemed reserved for Him alone, who had so triumphantly begun the glorious Work.

The Barrier of *France*, on the Side of the *Low-Countries*, had been forming for more than half a Century. What Art, Power, Expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here She was most exposed; for here the Duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by Surprise, or had been yielded to them by Treachery, the *French* marched to the Banks of the *Schelde*. At their Head were the Princes of the Blood, and their most fortunate General, the Duke of *Vendosme*. Thus commanded, thus posted, they hoped to check the Victor in his Course. Vain were their Hopes. The Duke
of

of MARLBOROUGH passed the River in their Sight. He defeated their whole Army. The Approach of Night concealed, the Proximity of *Ghent* favoured their Flight. They neglected nothing to repair their Loss; to defend their Frontier. New Generals, new Armies appeared in the *Netherlands*. All contributed to enhance the Glory, none were able to retard the Progress of the confederate Arms.

Lisle, the Bulwark of this Barrier, was besieged. A numerous Garrison and a Marshal of *France* defended the Place. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* commanded, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and sustained the Siege. The Rivers were seized, and the Communication with *Holland* interrupted. The Duke opened new Communications with great Labour and much greater Art. Through Countries, over-run by the Enemy, the necessary Convoys arrived in Safety. One alone was attacked. The Troops, which attacked it, were beat. The Defence of *Lisle* was animated by Assurances of Relief.

The *French* assembled all their Force. They marched towards the Town. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them Battle, without suspending the Siege. They abandoned the Enterprize. They came to save the Town. They were Spectators of its Fall.

From this Conquest the Duke hastened to others. The Posts taken by the Enemy on the *Schelde* were surprized. That River was passed the second Time; and notwithstanding the great Preparations made to prevent it, without Opposition.

Brussels, besieged by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was relieved. *Ghent* surrender'd to the Duke in the Middle of a Winter remarkably severe. An Army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the Place.

As soon as the Season of the Year permitted him to open another Campaign, the Duke besieged and took *Tournay*. He invested *Mons*. Near this City
the

the *French* Army, covered by thick Woods, defended by treble Intrenchments, waited to molest, nor presumed to offer Battle. Even This was not attempted by them with Impunity. On the last Day of *August* 1709, the Duke attacked them in their Camp. All was employed, nothing availed against the Resolution of such a General; against the Fury of such Troops. The Battle was bloody. The Event decisive. The Woods were pierced. The Fortifications trampled down. The Enemy fled. The Town was taken. *Doway, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain* underwent the same Fate in two succeeding Years. Their vigorous Resistance could not save them. The Army of *France* durst not attempt to relieve them. It seemed preserved to defend the Capital of the Monarchy.

The Prospect of this extreme Distress was neither distant, nor dubious. The *French* acknowledged their Conqueror, and sued for Peace.

These are the Actions of the D. of MARLBOROUGH,
Performed in the Compass of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.

The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to latest Posterity,
[In the Histories even of the Enemies of BRITAIN.
The Sense, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his transcendent Merit,
Was expressed

In the most solemn, most effectual, most durable Manner.
The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inscribed on this Pillar,
Shall stand

As long as the BRITISH Name and Language last,
Illustrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

D.

SATURDAY,

N^o 253. SATURDAY, May 8, 1731.

REMARKS on the History of England continued.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



IN our Paper, of *March* the 13th, We have spoken of the State of *Parties* at the Accession of K. *James*. We are now to make our Observations on his *Management of them*. It is necessary We should do This, in order to give a compleat and just Idea of his Government; and yet so much hath been said on the Subject by Writers of all Denominations, and even by our selves, that there remains but very little to be added, either for Curiosity, or Instruction.

We might observe how He drew Himself into some Trouble, if not Danger, and expos'd Himself to the Necessity of shedding some Blood, in the very first Months of his Reign, by espousing the Passions of a *Party*; by disgracing and proscribing Men, who had no Crime at that Time towards Him but their Attachment to the late Queen; by avowing the Cause of the Earl of *Essex*, whose designs had been, no doubt, as treasonable, at least, and as chimerical too, as Those, into which He drove *Grey*, *Cobham* and *Raleigh*, or which were imputed to Them.

Several other Anecdotes, concerning *Factions at Court and Parties in the Nation*, might be collected and remark'd upon. But We shall pass them over, and confine ourselves to observe, in a very few Instances,

ces, how He adapted his particular *Management of Parties* to the general and main Design of his *Policy*; What Strength He acquired; what Strength He lost by this Conduct; and what *Contests* He entail'd on Posterity.

There were no *Parties*, at this Time, in the Nation, but such as were form'd on *religious Differences*; and it had been a great Object of the Policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, to keep all *Parties* within those Bounds. We know the Maxims, on which she proceeded, by a Letter of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, writ expressly on this Subject. She thought that *Consciences were not to be forced, but won and reduced by Truth, Time, Instruction and Persuasion*; and that *Causes of Conscience lose their Nature, when They exceed their Bounds and grow Matter of Faction*. — By keeping to these Maxims, she succeeded. The *Parties in the Church* made none in the *State*. They were obliged to live in due Subjection to *Laws*, wisely made and moderately exercis'd. They were never punished, whilst They continued in this Subjection; much less, were They provoked, or encouraged to go out of it. The Powers of the *Church* were applied to the Support of the *Establishment*, not render'd subservient to any factious Designs of the *Court*; and ecclesiastical Violence was restrain'd from confirming the Obstinacy of Those, who dissented, by Persecution of them, or from increasing their Numbers, by Persecution of others.

Directly opposite to this Conduct was That of King *James*. — In haste to shew his Parts, He had a Conference between the *Bishops* and the *puritan Ministers* at *Hampton-Court*, in a few Months after his Accession; where He made Himself a principal Party in the Dispute. His *Courtiers* flattered Him and Archbishop *Whitgift*, who died soon afterwards, and probably doated then, declared Himself *verily persuaded that the King spake by the Spirit of God*. But surely
such

such a *Conference*, however it might frighten and silence, could neither instruct, nor persuade; and the King was so far from trusting, like his Predecessor, to the *Force of Truth* and the *Aid of Time*, that in this very Conference He threaten'd to employ another Kind of Force, if He did not meet with Compliance in a Time to be limited. The Bishops were at first to *admonish paternally* and to *confer amicably*; but lest They should not succeed by *preaching, writing* and *living* Men into Conformity, (the sole Means They ought to desire; or, if They desired others, the sole Means they ought to be suffer'd to employ) They were to have Recourse to *Compulsion* afterwards.—The same Spirit reigned in the first Speech, which *this Prince* made to his Parliament; for there He not only mass'd together, imprudently as well as unjustly, all the Dissenters from the established Church under the general Denomination of *Puritans* and *Novelists*, but He declared them all *insufferable in any well-governed Commonwealth*; so that He put them all out of his Protection, even though They confin'd Themselves within those Bounds, to which *Causes of Conscience* may reasonably extend, and proscribed them for their *Opinions*, not their *Practices*.

On these Principles He proceeded, and what We have said here may suffice, upon this Head, for his whole Reign.—The Consequence of this Conduct was that *those Sects*, who were not dangerous at first, became so at last. They became so, in some Degree, from the Moment the Declarations We have mention'd were made; for nothing is found more true in Nature and Experience than This; that They, who are oppress'd by Governments, will endeavour to change them; and that He, who makes Himself terrible to Multitudes, will have Multitudes to fear.—But This was not all.—As He made *these Sects* his Enemies, so He gave them great Advantages of Popularity and Strength.—The *first* of these Advantages, which We shall

shall take Notice of, arose from the great Indulgence He shew'd to the *Roman-Catholicks*, and the favourable Sentiments of *that Religion*, which He expressed on all private, and many publick Occasions. We need not descend into the particular Instances; for though We give little Credit to *Deageant's Memoirs* in general, and none to what He says of a *Letter*, written by King *James* to the *Pope*, acknowledging Him *Vicar of Christ* and *Head of the Church*; yet is there a Multitude of other Proofs, too notorious and too well supported to be deny'd.—We think it plain, upon the whole Matter, that several Passages in his Conduct, both before and after his coming into *England*, were unworthy of a *Protestant King* at any Time, and were equally impolitick at this Time; when the Zeal of *Papists* to attack, and of *Protestants* to defend the *Reformation* was at the highest Pitch; and when even the least Condescension, on either Side, would have been thought little less than Apostacy. Fear for his *Person*, and little Notions of *Policy* were probably the Motives, which determined this Part of his Conduct; but whatever the Motives were, the Effect was certainly This. He made the Cause of the *Court* to pass amongst many for the Cause of *Papery*; and it was not hard by Consequence for the *Puritans*, who were oppress'd by the *Court*, to make their Cause pass for That of the *Reformation*. We are far from thinking that This was properly the Case on either Side; but the Appearances were strong enough to fix such Prejudices in the Minds of Men, already prepared by Jealousy and Suspicion. This Advantage, so foolishly given, operated strongly against the *Court*, both in *this Reign* and the *next*. In *This*, it was apply'd to no ill Purposes. In the *next*, it was very wickedly improved; but They, who gave it first, and who continued to give it afterwards, are justly to be reputed the Accomplices of Those, who improved it so wickedly,

wickedly, how much soever They stood in Opposition to one another.

A second Advantage of Popularity and Strength, which King *James* gave to the *Puritans*, was This. He rank'd amongst *their Party*, nay He drove into *that Party*, as much as He was able by severe Usage, all Those, who stood up in Defence even of *civil Liberty*. The Aversion, which He express'd to the *Puritans*, formed a Kind of League between *Him* and the warmest of the *established Clergy*; and when These were once become a *Court Party*, We are not to wonder if *others* grew as warm as These, and if the greatest Part of that Body of Men united in a Cause, which flattered their *Passions*, and open'd the Road of *Preferment* to them. No King no Bishop, was the Language of the Court. No Bishop no King, was That of the Church. Had the Monarchy and the Hierarchy been attack'd, this united Zeal in a common Cause would have been commendable and successful too; for the Nation was not now, nor for a long Time afterwards, so distemper'd, that any Faction could raise its Head with Effect against the just Prerogative of the Crown and the established Rights of the Church. But the Truth requires We should say, that *this Union* was formed to offend and invade, and to extend Both beyond the Bounds prescribed to them by the *English Constitution*. It was great Blindness in the Clergy not to see that to enlarge the Bottom of the Court, They narrowed *their own*; that They fix'd a *Center of Union*, wherein all their divided Enemies would meet and unite with many, who were then Friends to the Church, but might come, as it happen'd afterwards, from being against the Clergy to be against the Church itself. It was a great Misfortune to the Nation, that the Clergy did not see these Truths in Time; since if They had seen them, They might have been happy Instruments of preventing that Mischief, which followed soon after

the Time We speak of; and that Division of Interests between the *Crown* and the *People*, which was created by King *James*, and hath proved so fatal to his Posterity.—But to return.—By a contrary Conduct, by espousing and sanctifying the Principles and by promoting the Measures of King *James*, the *Clergy* became Part of the *Faction of the Court*, and shared very unjustly the Imputation of favouring *Popery*, but very justly That of advancing *Tyranny*. This was a second Advantage, which King *James* gave to the *Puritans*. He varnished their Cause with Popularity, and He increas'd their Numbers. He made *Puritans* in his Time, as *Jansenists* have been since made in *France*, and *Jacobites* in *Britain*, by calling Men so and by treating them as such.—— They must have been sharp-sighted, indeed, of whom my Lord *Clarendon* speaks, and who could discern the *Rebellion contriving from, if not before, the Death of Queen Elizabeth*; but They must be quite blind, who do not discern the Seeds of Rebellion sowing in every Part of the Conduct of King *James*, and particularly in This, which We have now touch'd; the *Management of Parties*.

These Evils were aggravated, and the Consequences of them were precipitated by *his conducting our national Interests abroad against the Sense of the Nation*.

During the first Period, into which We divide this Reign (that is, to the Year 1614) King *James* meddled little and, to say the Truth, had little Occasion to meddle in *foreign Affairs*.—The *Treaty*, which He made with *Spain* in 1604, had been much censured, and Sir C. *Cornwallis*, in a Letter to the Lord *Cranburne*, asserts that *England never lost such an Opportunity of winning Honour and Wealth unto it, as by relinquishing the War against an exhausted Kingdom and a Prince held in little Veneration for suffering Himself to be wholly governed by a Man generally*

rally hated. This *Treaty* however was not probably so bad as it had been represented, and the Commerce opened with *Spain* became a Source of inexhaustible Riches to our Nation ; but still there was something preposterous and mean in the Conduct of King *James* abroad, even whilst He had so little to do there, and so safe a Part to act. He courted that very Power, the Power of *Spain*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had broke, and who would have courted Him, if He had known how to put so much as *Dignity* in his Proceedings. He disoblig'd the *Dutch*, whose Power had been rais'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, and who must have continued to depend on Him, if He had known how to be either a *Friend*, or an *Enemy* ; and yet He bore most ignominiously from this very People the greatest Injuries and Affronts imaginable. He had neither the Courage to chastise this *infant State*, nor the Sense to protect it. Their *Treaty* with their old Masters, the *Spaniards*, began in the Year 1607 ; was continued in 1608 ; and ended, in 1609, in a Truce of 12 Years. During the whole Course of this long Negotiation, King *James* shewed his Partiality in Favour of the *Spaniards* ; and though He sign'd, about this Time, two *Treaties* with the *States* as *Sovereigns* ; yet He made no Scruple, upon some Occasions, of declaring them *Rebels* ——— The Death of the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Disputes about that Succession, presented to *Henry IV.* an Opportunity He waited for ; and He was ready, when *Ravaillac* stabbed Him, to attack the House of *Austria*, whose Power in *Germany* began once more to give Umbrage, though *Rodolphus II.* was still on the *Imperial Throne*. King *James* left his Troops with the *Dutch*, notwithstanding the Truce. They were employed in this Quarrel ; and We cannot think Him to blame for taking no farther Part in the Hostilities. His Views were, and They ought to have been, at this Time, and in this Respect, very differ-

rent from Those of that heroical King of *France*. But in the new Scene of *German* Affairs, which opened a few Years afterwards, and which continued, during the last Period of his Reign, (that is, from the Year 1614) nothing could be more scandalous than his taking no Part at all, except his taking the Part He did take — That He should have made Himself a *Principal* in that terrible War, which broke out in *Germany* in 1618, and which lasted thirty Years, We cannot persuade our selves; neither do We believe that any Man, who does not take up his Opinions on Trust, but examines this intricate and perplexed Part of the History of the last Century with Care, will be of another Mind; and yet King *James* must have made Himself a *Principal* in this War, if He had engaged in it, as He was advised by some to engage, and as He hath been blamed by many for not engaging. — The Censures, under which He hath passed on this Occasion, would have been juster, if Those, who have made them, had distinguished better between the *Patrimony* of his Children, by defending the *Palatinate*, and promoting their *Grandeur*, by seconding their *Ambition*; between contributing to support the *Protestant Interest* abroad, and taking on his Shoulders a Load, which it was neither reasonable nor possible that He should bear; between that Conduct, which He ought to have held, as King of *this Island*, and That, which He might have been obliged to hold, if his Dominions had lain on the *Continent*. Our Writings will not pass, We believe, for Apologies in Favour of King *James*; and yet We shall explain this Point a little less to his Disadvantage, perhaps, than it hath been usually taken.

If King *James* had followed the Advice of Those, who would have had Him enter into an immediate War to maintain the *Elect^{or} Palatine* on the Throne of *Bohemia*, He must have exhausted and ruined this Nation to support it. He must have furnished Subsidies

sidies to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Prince of *Anspach*; He must have fed the War in *Hungary*; fomented the Revolt in *Austria*; paid the Army of the *Princes of the Union*; oppos'd the Duke of *Bavaria* in *Bohemia*, and *Spinola* in the *Palatinate*.—Let us consider in Opposition to whom, and in Concert with whom, He must have carried on this vast Undertaking.—On *one Side*, the whole *Popish* Interest, in the *Empire*, was closely united, and the Cause of *Ferdinand* was the common Cause of the Party. The *Popish* Interest, out of the *Empire*, conspired in the same Cause. The King of *Poland* assisted the *Emperor* in *Hungary*. Troops from *Italy* and a great Army from the *Netherlands* acted for Him in *Germany*. The Purse of the *Pope* and That of the King of *Spain* were open to Him. Even *France*, who ought in good Policy to have opposed the House of *Austria*, was induced by the Bigotry of her Court and, perhaps, by the private Interest of *Luines*, to declare for the *Emperor* against the King of *Bohemia*—On the *other Side*, the *Protestant* Interest, in the *Empire*, was far from being closely united, and farther still from making the Cause of *Frederick* the common Cause of the Party. Even the *Princes of the Union* had different Views; many of them lean'd to the *Emperor*; none of them could be intirely depended upon; and the *Elect*or of *Saxony*, the most powerful of the *Protestant* Princes of the *Empire*, was so far from uniting with the others, that He was first privately, and afterwards openly, but all along very steadily on the Side of *Ferdinand*. Out of the *Empire*, some Assistance might have been expected from the King of *Denmark* and the *Dutch*; but even their Accession must have been purchased; at least, it must have been made useful, at the Expence of *Britain*. What other Allies could King *James* have hoped for; and who can see, without smiling, in that godly Prelate, Arch-Bishop *Abbot's* Letter to Sir *Robert Naunton*, the

Names of *the Duke of Bonillon, together with Tremouille, a rich Prince in France*, mentioned upon such an Occasion? — Short and imperfect as the Account We have given is; Those, who know the State of *Europe* at the Time We speak of, know that it is true; and if We were to look no farther than the Representations made by *Juliana of Nassau* to her Son, against his accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, We should discover in them, with the true and fatal Reasons why King *James* did not assist *Frederick* at all, unanswerable Reasons why he ought not to have taken upon Him the *Bohemian Quarrel* in the Manner He must have taken it, if He had taken it upon Him at that Time. That King *James* should have prepared for this Storm, which was long in gathering; that He should have laboured to unite and to fortify the Protestants of *Germany*, before it happened; and to comfort and succour and protect them, after it happened; that He had many fair Opportunities of doing This, without engaging farther than the Interest of *Britain* allowed; and that He neglected them all, We admit and are able to shew. — He might have put Himself on such a Foot in *Europe*, as to have mediated at least (which was the only Part He attempted to act) successfully for the *Bohemians*, and to have screen'd his Son-in-Law from the Vengeance of the *Emperor*, and the Ambition of the D. of *Bavaria*. But He put Himself on such a Foot, and He acquired such a Character, that He had no Credit among the *Protestants*, nor much Influence over his Son-in-Law, and that the *Roman-Catholick Party*, sure of amusing Him, neglected and despised Him. He might have declin'd taking the *Bohemian Quarrel* upon Him; and yet not have made his Court to the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, by disavowing and condemning *Frederick*, and even by suffering them not only to drive *this Prince* out of *Bohemia*, but to take the *Palatinate* from Him and his Family, and give a

Wound,

Wound, almost mortal, to the whole *Protestant Cause* in *Germany*. Nay, He did worse. By *foolish Embassies* and *ridiculous Negotiations*, He gave Time and furnished Advantages, which could not have been had without his Assistance, to the *Popish Party*. By the same Means He check'd, He weaken'd, He discourag'd, and more than once disarm'd the *Protestant Party*. In short, not only the *Principles* of his Conduct were *wrong*, but the *Measures* of it compos'd such a Series of *Blunders* as We seldom find in History; because it is hardly possible, in the Course of Nature, that *such Characters*, in *such Situations*, should appear above once in a Century.

It may be objected, perhaps, by some of the *Writers*, who adorn and instruct the present Age, that *K. James* was universally and justly condemn'd for not taking the *Bohemian Quarrel* upon Him, as well as for not defending the *Palatinate*; and that He must have pursued, in the *last Case*, the same Measures as We think Him justified for not pursuing in the *former*. We shall not refute this Objection by shewing, as it would be easy for us to do, in various Particulars, the prodigious Difference between the *two Cases*; the insuperable Difficulties He would have encounter'd in *one*, and the many Facilities He would have had in the *other*. The Deduction would be too long and extensive for the narrow Limits of these Essays. But We shall content ourselves with making two Observations, sufficient to satisfy any reasonable Man, and which will shew, at the same Time, what different Notions of the Part this Nation ought to take in *foreign Affairs*, were entertained by our Forefathers, from Those, which We, their wiser Offspring, have pursued. When King *James* took the Resolution of calling the *Parliament*, which sat in 1621, the Battle of *Prague* was lost and *Bohemia* too with

* See *Rush. Coll.* with it. The * Affections of the People were raised, but it was for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and in this Point the Sense of the *Parliament* went along with the Affections of the People, On the other Point, the Sense of the *Parliament* had not been expressed, there having been no *Parliament* held from the Year 1614 till this Time. But what this Sense would have been, may be easily collected, from the Advice given in the *Petition and Remonstrance of the Commons*, at this Time. As zealous as They were to engage even in a War, for recovering the *Palatinate*, They were not enough transported by their Zeal, or enough byass'd in favour of any *foreign Interest*, to forget the true Interest of *Britain*. They advised the King to a War; but They advised Him not to rest upon a War in these Parts only, which would consume his Treasure and discourage his People. They advised that the Bent of this War might be against that Prince, (the King of Spain) whose Armies and Treasures had first diverted and since maintain'd the War in the *Palatinate*. On which Side now was the Sense of the Nation; and how impertinent are They, who have quoted this Sense, to authorize our taking Part in every German Quarrel, by paying Subsidies, maintaining Armies, and involving our selves in all the Affairs of the Continent? How monstrous is the Absurdity and Impudence of * Those, who have asserted that the Case of the People of the *Palatinate*, invaded by a powerful Enemy, who pretended to nothing less than the Conquest of them, is Parallel to That of the People of *Hanover*, invaded by nobody, and over whom no foreign Power pretends to any Dominion? — The *Parliament*

* See *Observations on the present State of Affairs.*

pointed out to King *James* a Measure effectual for supporting the *Protestant Interest* abroad; but such a Measure as this Nation might pursue by exerting her *natural Strength*. — The Power of *Spain* supported the *Emperor* and the *Popish League*; an Army of *Spain* conquer'd the *Palatinate*; and yet the Artifices of *that Court* deluded King *James* to such a Degree, that He dream'd of recovering the Patrimony of his Children by the good Offices of the *Spaniards*, and was incapable of pursuing, in earnest, any other Measures, even at the Time when *Spinola* was stripping them of this Patrimony and reducing them to seek their Bread in another Country. To this Dependence on *Spain* He sacrificed not only *Them*, but his own Honour, the Affection of his Subjects, the Prosperity of his Kingdoms, and the Security of the *Protestant Religion*. It was this magick Charm, which the *Parliament* endeavour'd in vain to dissolve, by pressing Him to a War with *Spain*, which his maritime Force would have carried on principally; which would have stopp'd that Source, from whence the *Popish Party* in *Germany* derived so many Supplies; and which would have render'd the *Protestant Party*, by Consequence, a more equal Match for the *Emperor*. — But This was not the sole wise and honest View, which the *Parliament* propos'd, by pointing out and insisting on *this Measure*. There was another, which touch'd them more nearly, and which They had more at Heart. We shall mention it in our next Discourse, and it will lead us from our Observations on *this Reign* to those few on the next, with which we intend to close, at least for the present, all our Remarks on the History of *England*.

O.

SATURDAY,



N^o 254. SATURDAY, *May 15, 1731.*

Remarks on the History of England concluded.

From the Minutes of Mr. OLDCASTLE.



NOTHER Object, besides recovering the *Palatinate*, which the Parliament had in View, when They press'd King *James* to break with *Spain*, was preventing the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to the *Infanta*. He had been banter'd and abus'd by the *Spaniards*, when He treated a Marriage between his eldest Son, Prince *Henry*, and *Anne* of *Austria*; and yet no sooner did the Duke of *Lerma*, in the Year 1616, make some Overtures of marrying the *Infanta Mary*, second Daughter of *Philip III.* to Prince *Charles*, but this *Salomon* of ours catch'd at the Bait, which was thrown out to Him, and hung fast on the Hook for seven Years together.

The Scheme of farther Usurpations in *Germany* was already laid, by the House of *Austria*; and the Character of *Ferdinand*, who was to succeed *Matthias*, and who did succeed Him three Years afterwards, gave Hopes of pushing these Usurpations with Vigour and Advantage. — The Part of *Spain* had been great in promoting these Designs. It was essential to their Success that it should be so likewise in the Execution of them. No Opposition, of any Moment, was to be apprehended from *France*, where the Principles of *Despotism* and of *Bigot-Popery* prevailed more than ever, and who had concluded, in the Year 1615, a
double

double Marriage with *Spain*. The Truce of twelve Years, made with the *Dutch* in 1609, would enable the *Spaniards* to support the *Popish League* from the *low Countries*, as in all Cases They might do from *Italy*; and if They could keep the King of *Great-Britain* from diverting the Forces of *Spain* in the mean Time, there was Reason to hope that these united Powers might conquer both the *Palatinates*, as well as *Bobemia*, and break the Force of the *Protestant League* in *Germany*, before the Expiration of the Truce and the Renewal of the War with the united Provinces of the *low Countries* should create another Diversion.——This was a principal Part of the Plan laid by the House of *Austria* and the other *Roman-Catholic Princes*, for oppressing the *Protestants* and invading the Liberties of *Germany*. To the eternal Infamy of King *James*, it succeeded even beyond the Hopes of Those, who laid it.——The Hints, which *Digby* gave Him in the very Beginning of this Negotiation, might have put Him on his Guard and a thousand Things, which happened in the Course of it, would have undeceiv'd, provoked and determin'd any other Man. His Presumption, his Fear and, above all, his perverse System of Policy prevented any Effects of these Kinds. We forbear entering into the Particulars of what He did for *Spain*; of what He suffer'd *Spain* to do; and of all the Indignities, which He received from every Branch of the House of *Austria*, during these Transactions. Most of them have been observed, and are sufficiently known; and it would be an unnecessary Work to point out some few Instances more, which have not been, perhaps, taken Notice of, or explain'd as much as They deserved. We shall spare our selves and our Readers this disagreeable Recollection, and only observe in general the Plan, upon which King *James* appears to have acted; as We have observed what the Plan was of Those, who made so fatal an Use of his Weakness.

His

His silly Pride could not be satisfied, unless He match'd his Son with a Daughter of *Spain*, or *France*. He had been disappointed formerly on that Side and lately on this. He was resolv'd at any Rate not to be disappointed a third Time. The immense Sum, which had been promised for the *Infanta's* Portion, tempted Him the more, because for several Years he would call no *Parliament* to grant Him *Supplies*, and He found it hard to raise them, even in small Proportions, without a *Parliament*. He imagined vainly, that this Alliance with *Spain* would give Him great Consideration abroad; and wickedly, that it would afford Him Means of raising and extending his Prerogative at home. He saw the Mischiefs, which accrued to the *Protestant Interest* abroad, either as immediate, or as remote Effects of his Conduct; either in Consequence of what He did, or in Consequence of what He neglected; and We are willing to believe that He felt, in some Degree, Those, which fell on the *Family*, into which He had married his *Daughter*. But the Interest of the *Protestants* in general touch'd Him little. Abroad, as well as at home, He chose rather by Condescensions and Submissions to court his *Enemies*, than to unite his *Friends* among one another and to attach them to Himself. In his Zeal for the imaginary Rights of Princes, He could not forgive the *Elektor Palatine* for taking Arms against the *Emperor*; and whilst He looked on Him as a *Rebel*, forgot that He was his *Son*. If He remember'd it at any Time and felt any Concern, the Sentiment was surely very faint; since We find that the distant and uncertain Prospect of making some tolerable Composition for this *unhappy Prince*, by the Intercession of *Spain*, was always sufficient to calm his paternal Solitude. He saw without doubt, at least during the Life of *Philip III*, who did not dye till the Year 1621, that *Spain* was not much in earnest to give Him the *Infanta*; but He seem'd resolv'd to overcome all Difficulty

culties and to determine the Councils of *Spain*, and even of *Rome*, in his Favour, by Dint of Concessions. The Truth is, He went so far in his Concessions at last, that these Councils seem'd to be determined. Those of *Spain*, at least, were so most certainly in the Year 1623, even before the Voyage of the *Prince* into *Spain*; and the *Articles* sworn to both by *Him*, when He was there, and by his *Father* here, amounted to little less than a direct Establishment of *Popery*. That this Charge is just will, We think, appear evident, when it shall be remember'd, without entering into more Particulars, that by *these Articles* the King and Prince of *Wales* engaged for the Suspension, and even Abrogation of all Laws made against *Roman-Catholicks*; that they engaged never to consent to the making any *new Laws* of the same Kind; and that, as the Children to be born of this Marriage were to be educated by their *Mother*, till *ten Years of Age*, in Compliance with the King of *Spain's* Demands; so the *Prince* was prevail'd on to promise that He would lengthen this Term till *twelve Years*, according to the Desire of the *Pope*.

Thus was King *James* amused till the Beginning of the Year 1623, when the *upper Palatinate* and the Dignity of *Elect*or were taken from *Frederick* and conferred on the Duke of *Bavaria*, by the Diet of *Ratisbon*; or, to speak more properly, by the Prerogative of *Ferdinand*, who acted in the Diet as dogmatically and as absolutely as King *James* endeavour'd to act in his *Parliaments*. When this Point was gain'd by amusing King *James*, and the *Protestant Interest* was broken in *Germany*; the next Point was to be carried by concluding with Him and making the *Match* on such Terms, as might secure an immediate Toleration and open the Prospect of a future Establishment of *Popery* in this Kingdom.—The *Parliament* of 1621 beheld Part of this Scene and apprehended, upon very just Grounds, the Sequel. They saw the fatal

Consequences of the Negotiation, whilst it was in Suspence, and They dreaded Those, which would follow the Conclusion of it. To stop the *first* and to prevent the *last*, there was but one Expedient; the forcing King *James* into a War, for recovering the *Palatinate*. This They endeavoured with all their Might; but He meant nothing less, and had call'd a *Parliament* purely to get Money from his People, on Pretence of a *War* He was resolved not to make. Some Money He got by this Trick; but when he had squander'd it away in trifling Negotiations and a ridiculous Shew of War, He could get no more; so that *this Parliament* ended as others had done, and even with greater Dissatisfaction between the *King* and the *People*, both on Account of his conducting foreign Affairs against the Interest and Sense of the Nation, and of his attacking more openly than ever the Privileges of *Parliament*. The *Parliament* remonstrated, petition'd, protested. The *King* dissolv'd the *Parliament* in a Rage; imprison'd several Members of the *House of Commons*, and even some of the *House of Lords*. He resumed his Project of governing without *Parliaments*, since He could not govern as ill as He had a Mind to govern with them. But this Project was not pursued above two Years; for what his *Parliament* could not obtain from Him, an unworthy Favourite did obtain. Motives of private Interest, and perhaps of a worse Nature, made that great Turn in Affairs, which so many Motives of a publick Nature and of national Interest had never been able to make. In short, a Cabal at Court prevailed on *this Prince* to alter his Conduct in those very Points, on which the *Parliament*, seconded by the Clamours of the whole Nation, had been never able to prevail. — We shall not attempt to guess, as many have done, at the secret Reasons, which determined *Buckingham*, nor at Those, by which He determined the Prince of *Wales*, to undertake the romantick

mantick and, in every Light, ridiculous Journey into *Spain*, to carry the Treaty of *Marriage* to a Conclusion; then to break it off again in so abrupt and ungracious a Manner; and to become so earnest for engaging in a War with *Spain*. Whatever these Reasons were, the Reason given for breaking the *Match* was not the true one. The Restitution of the *Palatinate* had been very coolly pressed, not to say neglected, even whilst the *Prince* was at *Madrid*; and yet after He came from thence, the King of *Spain* had signed an *Act*, by which He engaged for this Restitution; so that on the Principles, on which this Negotiation had been conducted, there seem'd to be no Reason for breaking it off given by *Spain* at the Time, when it was broken. But the *Parliament*, which King *James* call'd upon this Occasion, proceeded, like the *last*, on other Principles than the *Court* had done, and was therefore, very consistently with these Principles, ready to seize the Opportunity offer'd, by advising the *King* to break the *Match*, and enter into a War for recovering the *Palatinate*, and by giving Him very large *Supplies* for this Purpose.——We cannot, upon this Occasion, subscribe to the Censure pass'd by my Lord *Clarendon*, how much soever We esteem his *History*, and honour the Memory of that noble *Historian*; for, in the *first Place*, the *Supplies*, given by this last Parliament of King *James*; were not only very large, as We have just now said, but They were such as the *King* was contented with, and thank'd the *Parliament* for in his Answer to the *Speaker of the House of Commons*. Secondly, We cannot agree that it was the *Parliament*, properly speaking, who prevail'd on the *King*, and engaged Him in the *War*. The *Parliament* advis'd Him to it, indeed; but nothing can be more manifest than This, even by my Lord *Clarendon*'s own Account, that the Measure was resolved on before, and that it was the Measure of the *Prince* and of *Buck-*

ingham, which the *King*, however unwillingly, adopted. The *Parliament* in Truth did no more than advise Him to break a *Treaty*, which He had already broken; and Those, who reflect on precedent Passages, will easily concur with us that if This had not been the Case, it would not have been in the Power of the *Parliament* to break the *Match*; much less to engage the *King* in the *War*. Thirdly, if subsequent *Parliaments* did not support those great Mountains of Promises, as They are call'd, which this *Parliament* rais'd, We shall venture to affirm that it was the Fault of the *Court*, not of the *Parliaments*.

This last Article requires to be set in a very clear Light, because it opens to us a Source of Causes, from whence a great Part of the Mischiefs, which followed in the next *Reign*, arose; or by which, at least, They were aggravated and precipitated.—First, therefore, We observe that the Measures of the *Court* were so foolishly taken for pushing the *War*, that if *Parliaments* had given by Millions, and given with as little Stint in those Days, as They have given since, their Grants must have been ineffectual to any good Purpose. Just before the Death of King *James*, an Army had been rais'd for the *Palatinate War*, under the Command of the famous *Mansfeldt*. The *French* first and the *Dutch* afterwards refus'd Passage to these Troops, or even to suffer them to land. The Cry of the *Court* was loud against the Perfidy of *France*, as it had been against the *Emperor* and *Spain* in their Turns. This will be always the Case, when silly *Ministers* bungle themselves into Difficulties, of which others make their Profit; or when They knavishly engage a national Quarrel for some private, indirect Interest, and inflame the People to resent imaginary Injuries. But the Truth is, that King *James* had nobody to blame but Himself, when He took general and ambiguous Answers for sufficient Engagements, and did not see that *France* would refuse
Passage

Passage to these Troops for the same Reasons as made Her decline entering, at that Time, into a League against the House of *Austria*.

Another Blunder committed, about the same Time, by this wise King, and that wise Minister, his *Scholar*, *Buckingham*, must be mentioned. He was to take Possession of *Frankendal*, which had been deposited in the Hands of the *Infanta Isabella*. The *Infanta* agreed to yield the Place to Him, and to give Passage to his Troops, who were to compose the Garrison, according to her Engagements; but refused to answer for their Passage over the *Lands* of the *Empire*, to which she was not engaged. Then, and not till then, He made this Discovery in Geography, that his Troops must march over the *Lands* of the *Empire* to get from the *low Countries* into the *Palatinate*. Such Blunders as These were sufficient to disgust the *Parliaments* of that Age, and to make them backward in supplying a *War* thus managed. Much more Reason had They to be so, when they saw the same Managers and the same Management continue in the next *Reign*. This Disgust at the Management of the *War*, however, would not have produced so many fatal Consequences, if it had stood alone. But We observe, in the second Place, that the *Parliaments*, which met after the Accession of King *Charles*, became incens'd, as They discover'd more and more that the Account given by the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Reign of King *James*, and on which the Resolutions of that Parliament had been taken, was false in almost every Point. A System of *Lies* dress'd up to deceive the Nation, and impos'd on the *Parliament*, could neither remain undiscover'd, nor escape the Resentment and Indignation it deserved, when discover'd. Besides, that Parliament and the Nation too, when They express'd so much Joy at the Breach with *Spain*, flatter'd Themselves that, by preventing the Marriage with the *Infanta*, They had prevented all the Dan-

gers, which They apprehended from *that Marriage*; whereas it appeared soon afterwards that They stood exposed to the very same Dangers by the Marriage concluded with *France*; nay, to greater; since the Education of the Children by the *Mother*, that is in *Popery*, had been confined to *ten Years* by the *former Treaty*, and was extended to *thirteen* by the *latter*. In short, it cannot be denied, and my Lord *Clarendon* owns, that as the Insolence of *Buckingham* caused the War with *Spain*, so his Lust and his Vanity alone threw the Nation into another with *France*. *Spain* was courted first without Reason, and affronted afterwards without Provocation. Ships were sent to the King of *France* against his *Protestant Subjects*; and the Persecution of his *Protestant Subjects* was made the Pretence of a Rupture with Him. Thus was the Nation led from one extravagant Project to another, at an immense Charge, with great Diminution of Honour and infinite Loss to Trade, by the Ignorance, private Interest, and Passion of *one Man*. The Conduct therefore of the *Parliament*, who attacked *this Man*, was perfectly consistent with the Conduct of *that Parliament*, who had so much applauded Him; and one cannot observe without Astonishment, the Slip made by the *noble Historian* We have just quoted, when He affirms that the *same Men*, who had applauded Him, attacked Him, *without imputing the least Crime to Him, that was not as much known when They applauded Him, as when They attacked Him*. Now it is plain that many of the Crimes imputed to Him, in the Reign of King *Charles*, when He was attacked, could not be known, and that many others had not been even committed in the Reign of King *James*, when He was, upon one single Occasion, applauded.

To the Disgusts, taken at the Management of *foreign Affairs*, must be added Those, which were daily given by the Court in the Management of *domestick*

meftick Affairs. Real, not imaginary, Grievances arose and were continued in every Part of the Administration. Some of These King *Charles*, like his *Father*, was obstinately bent to maintain, and his Right of imposing them was asserted. Others were disguis'd and excus'd rather than defended ; but in redressing even These, He shew'd such a Reluctance that He comply'd without obliging, and increas'd the Disgust of his People, even whilst He granted their Requests. We have said, in a former Discourse, that *King Charles came a Partyman to the Throne*, and that He continued *an Invasion on the People's Rights*, whilst He imagined Himself only concern'd in the Defence of his own. In advancing this Proposition, We were far from meaning a Compliment at the Expence of Truth. We avow it as an Opinion We have form'd on reading the Relations publish'd on all Sides, and to which, it seems to us, that all the authentick Anecdotes of those Times may be reconcil'd. *This Prince* had suck'd in, with his Milk those absurd Principles of Government, which his *Father* was so industrious and, unhappily for *King* and *People*, so successful in propagating. He found them espous'd, as true Principles both of *Religion* and *Policy*, by a whole *Party* in the Nation, whom He esteem'd Friends to the Constitution in *Church* and *State*. He found them oppos'd by a *Party*, whom He look'd on indiscriminately as Enemies to the *Church* and to *Monarchy*. Can We wonder that He grew zealous in a Cause, which He understood to concern Him so nearly, and in which He saw so many Men, who had not the same Interest, and might therefore be suppos'd to act on a Principle of Conscience, equally zealous ? Let any one, who hath been deeply and long engaged in the Contests of *Party*, ask Himself, on cool Reflection, whether Prejudices, concerning Men and Things, have not grown up and strengthen'd with Him, and obtain'd an uncontrollable Influence over his Conduct.

We

We dare appeal to the inward Sentiments of every such Person.——With this habitual Bias upon him King *Charles* came to the Throne; and, to compleat the Misfortune, He had given all his Confidence to a *mad Man*. An *honest Minister* might have shewn Him how wrong his Measures were; a *wise one* how ill-timed. *Buckingham* was incapable of either. The Violence and Haughtiness of his Temper confirm'd his *Master* in the Pursuit of these Measures; and the Character of the *first Minister* became That of the *Administration*. Other Circumstances, which often happen, happen'd likewise in this Case. The *Minister* was universally hated; the *King* was not. To support the *Minister*, it was necessary that the *Prerogative* should be strained, and violent and unpopular Means should be employed. To support the *Government*, nothing of this Sort was necessary. Nay, the very contrary Measures were necessary to reconcile the *King* to his *People*, and to stop in Time that Alienation of their Minds from Him, which began even then to appear. In this Difference of Interests, Those of the *Crown* were sacrificed to Those of the *Minister*. King *Charles*, who had encouraged Parliamentary Prosecutions, in his Father's Reign, would not suffer them in his own. He dissolved his *Parliaments* and broke almost all the few Ties of Union, which remained between *Himself* and the *Nation*, that He might screen some of the *most unworthy Men*, who ever disserv'd a *Prince*, or dishonour'd a *Court*.——Before the Death of *Buckingham*, irreparable Mischief was done. The Distemper of the *Nation* was so universal, according to my Lord *Clarendon*, that all wise Men look'd upon it as the Prediction of the Destruction and Dissolution, that would follow. This Prediction was soon verified. The *King* executed what He had often threatened. *Parliaments* were laid aside. The very Mention of them was forbid; and He continued to govern without any for twelve Years. During this In-

Interval, the Distemper lurk'd indeed ; but it grew more malignant ; and if a national *Serenity* appeared about the Time, when the King went into *Scotland*, it appeared just when the Poison work'd most effectually and began to seize the Heart. Jealousies about *Religion* and *Liberty* were now at their Height. The former, as far as They affected the King and his *Protestant Ministers*, were ill founded ; but for that very Reason, it would have been easy to cure them ; and if They had been cured in Time, as We think, on my Lord *Clarendon's* Authority, that nothing could have led the *Scots Nation* into Rebellion, so are We persuaded that a great Motive and Spur to the Rebellion in *England* would have been taken away. The latter were certainly but too well founded. The King had, in a Manner, renounced the *Constitution* ; and instead of governing with the Assistance and Concurrence of a *Parliament*, He govern'd by illegal *Acts of Power*, which the Council, the *Star-Chamber* and the *High Commission* exercised.——There was something still more dangerous to *Liberty* in Practice. Not only the Government was carried on without Law, or against Law, but the Judges were become the Instruments of arbitrary Power, and that Law, which should have been the Protection of Property, was rendered, by their corrupt Interpretations of it, so great a Grievance that the Foundations of Right were, to the Apprehension and Understanding of wise Men, says my Lord *Clarendon*, never more in Danger to be destroyed.

Whilst Things were in this Situation here, King *Charles* lighted up another Fire in *Scotland*, by resuming the Project of modelling that Church, which King *James* had begun. Archbishop *Land*, who had neither Temper nor Knowledge of the World enough to be intrusted with the Government of a private College, conducted this Enterprize and precipitated the publick Ruin. The Puritans of *England* soon united

in a common Cause with the *Puritans* of Scotland; and the Army, which the *latter* had raised, marched into *England*. Many of Those, who had appeared against the *Court*, and even some of Those, who were on the Side of the *Court*, favour'd, in different Manners, the *Scots*, and hoped to apply this Force and to improve this Incident so as to restrain the *Prerogative* within known, perhaps narrower Bounds, and to strengthen the Barriers of *publick Liberty*.—That This might have been brought about, and that the *civil War*, which followed, might have been prevented, appeared very manifestly in the Temper and Proceedings of the *Parliament*, which met in *April* 1640, when all had been done, which could be done, to destroy the *Constitution*; for if the *King* had been able to continue to govern *without Parliaments*, the *Constitution* had been destroy'd; and when calling a *Parliament* was visibly the Effect of *Necessity* and *Fear*, not *Choice*, the *Parliament*, which was called, shewed *wonderful Order and Sobriety in their whole Behaviour*. If some *Passion* had appeared in their *Debates*, it might have been well excused in an *House of Commons* assembled at such a Time; and yet scarce an *angry Word* was thrown out. The few, that escaped from some, were either silently disliked, or openly disapproved. The *King*, even in this Crisis of Affairs, preserved the same Carriage He had formerly used towards them, and shewed too plainly that He regarded them only as *Tax-layers*. In a Word, about a Month after their Meeting, He dissolved them, and as soon as He had dissolved them, He repented, but He repented too late, of his Rashness. Well might He repent; for the Vessel was now full, and this last Drop made the Waters of Bitterness overflow.—Here we draw the Curtain, and put an End to our *Remarks*, by observing, *first*, that if the *Spirit of Liberty* had once relax'd in the Space of almost forty Years, *Liberty* must have been swallow'd up by *Prerogative*; *secondly*, that
after

after these long Contests between the *King* and the *People*, and when the *latter* had received the utmost Provocations, the *Spirit of Liberty* was not transported into any Excess; determined to defend the *People*, but unwilling to offend the *King*. The *King* (and He alone could have done it) forced the Affairs of the Nation, as He had put his own long before, into the Hands of a *Faction*. The true Friends of the *Constitution* were divided, and, divided, were too weak to prevail on either Side. The *Spirit of Faction*, not the *Spirit of Liberty*, is answerable for all, which followed; and who is answerable for reducing the Contest, on *both Sides*, to be the Contest of *Faction* may, We think, be sufficiently collected from what hath been said in these Discourses.



N^o 255. SATURDAY, May. 22, 1731.

To CALEB D'ANVERS, Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,



SINCE you have gone through the Task, which you undertook at my Desire, and have carried your *Remarks on the History of England* as far as you judge them necessary at this Time, I think my self obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to say something to you, concerning the Clamour rais'd and the Conduct held, upon this Occasion, by *Those*, who not content with the Merit of being your *Adversaries*, have declared Themselves such at last to the very Being of the

the *British Constitution* and to the Principles, on which the *present Establishment* is built, and on which alone it can stand secure.

Before I left the Town, nay as soon as my *first Letter* to you appear'd, the whole Posse of *ministerial Scribblers* was summon'd. Their Numbers were augmented; perhaps their Pensions. Their Strength, indeed, continued much the same; but their Fury redoubled. At my Return to *London*, I am inform'd that these *weekly Swarms* have continued to buz about ever since; that the *Insects* have been dispers'd by every Flap of your Pen; but that, like *true Insects*, They have still gather'd again and renew'd their Din. — I say, that I am inform'd of This; because, among other Circumstances, which compose the Ease and Quiet of a country Life, We are sure of not being infested there by these mighty Swarms of *little Creatures*. As their Lives are short, the Extent, in which They ramble, is narrow, and few of them take their Flight beyond the Bills of Mortality.

The Manner, in which *these Writers* have supported the Dispute between *You* and *Them*, and the Explanations, to which They have been push'd, confirm all the Suspicions, which it was natural to entertain, when so great an Alarm was taken at the first direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recall to the Minds of Men the true Notions of the *British Constitution*. They were so earnest to discourage the Prosecution of such a Design; They were so eager to find Fault, where so little Fault was to be found, that They catch'd at every Word, in which They imagin'd the least Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been affected, nor the Merits of the Cause have been alter'd, if these Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I should not so much as mention This, if it was not necessary to shew that your real Crime, as well as mine,

mine, towards the *Persons*, who encourage and direct *these Authors*, is our starting the *Subject*, not our *manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raised, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were called forth to their Aid, before any of those Pretences were found out, which they afterwards so meanly and so immorally employ'd against us. To prove This beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Sense and Candour, it will be only necessary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *first Letters* to you, which raised the Storm; for what do *those Letters* contain besides general and inoffensive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and of *Faction*, and on the Necessity of keeping the *Spirit of Liberty* alive and active, even in Times of apparent Security? Your Writings were justified, indeed, in *these Letters*; but so they had been in *others*, and on many precedent Occasions. The Charge of *Jacobitism* was refuted, indeed, with the Contempt it deserved, and *seditious Designs* of another Kind, were pointed out; but *seditious Designs* had been imputed to the *same Persons* before and upon the *same Grounds*. It remains then that this *new Alarm* was taken, as I just now said, at the general Design of *those Papers*; and if That was sufficient to give such an Alarm, sure I am that you are more than justified for all you writ before this Dispute begun, and for all you have published in the Course of it.

The *old Gentleman*, who defended you in our *former Letters*, thought you deserved the Acknowledgments of every honest Man for attempting to revive *this Spirit*, even supposing you to have no other Reason than your Observation that a *contrary Temper* prevailed. How much is this Reason enforced, how much more do you deserve the Acknowledgements of every honest Man, if it is become evident not only that a *supine Temper*, contrary to the Activity of *this Spirit*, had prevail'd; but that a *contrary Spirit* hath

been raised and that *Principles*, destructive of all *Liberty*, and particularly adapted to destroy That of the *British Government*, are avowed, taught and propagated? If I pronounced too hastily, in my *second Letter*, that the *Mask was pull'd off*, surely We may now say, upon Knowledge, not Belief, *that the Mask is fallen off from your Adversaries, in the Scuffle*. I shall not repeat what is said in your Discourses, nor add any Thing to them. You have there quoted the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have shew'd the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remarked that *some* of them have been taught even by *Those*, who have in the same Breath admitted the *Consequences* of them. Nothing less therefore than a *constant and vigorous Opposition*, of which you have set us the Example, will be able to stop the Progress of those *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles*, which King *James* the *first* established, were not more absurd than *These*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reason, They were less dangerous. If *those Principles* prevail'd very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevail'd farther; why should not *These* have the same, or greater Success? It may be said, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* help'd the Progress of the *former*, which is not our *present Case*. To this Distinction I shall submit very readily; but if *these Principles* have gain'd some Ground already (and that they have gain'd some cannot be deny'd) without *this Authority* to enforce them; is there not Reason to fear that They may gain more, and is not every Degree They gain a Degree more of Danger to this Constitution of Government? Surely, Mr. *D'Anvers*, there can remain no Doubt in the Breast of any Man, who hath given the least Attention to the Disputes between *You* and your *Adversaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that They have endeavoured to
make

make your *Writings* pass for an Opposition to the *present happy Establishment*, and *their Cause* for That of the *Crown*. You and I have sufficiently declared ourselves, and answered Them, on the *first Head*. If They had been able to produce an Instance, where, departing from your *Subject*, you had given occasion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing such a *Parallel* might, with some Colour, have been imputed to you; but since they have not been able to do This, and have been desir'd to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making *such Parallels*, as well as the scandalous Immorality of imputing Them to *others*, must lye at their Door. — Let us see how well their Pretensions are supported on the *second Head*, and whether We cannot prove, without any forced Constructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and secret Abettors of *these Writers* are either Enemies of the *present Establishment*, or have some *private Interest* more at Heart than the true Interest of *this Establishment*.

This Establishment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to secure the Possession of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevail'd; either Those, which tend to subvert the Constitution, by raising *Prerogative*, and which were justly objected to some of the *Tories* formerly; or Those, which tend to subvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as justly objected to some of the *Whigs* now; *this Establishment* could never have been made. Who are *Enemies* and who are *Friends* therefore to *publick Liberty* and to the *present Establishment*? Are *You* their Enemy, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles and the particular Ends, on which and for which *this Establishment* was made? Are your *Adversaries* Friends to ei-

L I 2

ther

ther, when They only seem to admit some general Notions of *Liberty*, that they may promote with greater Effect, on particular Occasions, the Doctrines of *Slavery*; and when they endeavour to destroy the Principles and to defeat the Ends of the *present Establishment*? The *Revolution* and the *Acts of Settlement* have secured us against the Dangers, which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpose are *Measures* and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expose us to greater Dangers than *These*? Why are such incessant Pains taken to shew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermined and our *Constitution* destroy'd even now, after all We have done and all We have suffer'd to secure *one*, and to improve the *other*? I shall not give particular Answers to these Questions; nor offer to assign the private Interest, which the *Persons*, who are guilty of This, may have at Heart; for I will, upon no Occasion, even seem to follow the Example of your *Adversaries*; nor presume to deliver my Suspicions, tho' real and well-grounded, as the Intentions of other Men. This alone I will repeat; that They, who argue and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote some Interest, which is repugnant to the Ends, for which the People of this Nation established the *Protestant Succession* and the *present Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attacked the *Religion*, but They manifestly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as these Two are interwoven together, tho' it be true that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our *civil Liberty* must be so likewise; yet it is as true that *Religion* may be safe and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon this *Head*, before I proceed to That, which shall conclude my Letter, except my Desires that you will persist, and my Hopes that you will succeed in the *Cause* you have undertaken; the Cause of your *Country*; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ
are

are Those of *Argument* and *Persuasion*; the lawful, and the sole lawful Means, which can be employ'd to rouse an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Faction* continue to assert, as They have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *ministerial Pamphlets*, that the Faults they are pleased to ascribe to the People of *Great Britain* * render an *ARMY* necessary. Instead of endeavouring to *persuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors such Means, and the *Cause of Liberty* would be dishonour'd by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is said to be by *Those*, who do their utmost to *corrupt* and *deprave* it; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of our Government* as near its Period as They affirm, there would remain no Part for any honest Man to take, except That of sitting silently down and perishing in the common Shipwreck; but surely This is not yet our Case, nor will it become our Case, unless We are induced to believe it so; unless We make our Ruin irretrievable by struggling no longer against it. There are Men, many We think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worshipped the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope that there is still a Blessing in store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are sure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injustice can take from you; the inward Satisfaction of having serv'd your Country, to the utmost of your Power, by those *lawful Means*, which the Constitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumstances of Fortune and, above all, the Temper of my Mind determine me, that you succeed, I

* See Some Observations on the present State of Affairs.

shall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern for you will be lost in the common Calamity.

The Article, with which I propose to conclude my Letter, is of such a Nature that I cannot omit it, on this Occasion, with any Regard to Truth, Justice, Honour and the Sentiments of a most reasonable Indignation. The *Writers*, who are employ'd against you, have received, with an unlimited Commission to rail, particular Instructions to direct their *Billingsgate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Closet Whispers, hath been always practised, when Power and Confidence have been given to the *Insolent* and the *Base*. Perhaps, it may have been thought proper, at this Time, to confirm the Effect of such Insinuations by an Echo from the *Press*; and to prevent a general, national Clamour from sounding in *some Ears*, by raising an artificial Clamour round about them; but whatever the Design may have been, sure I am that this strain of Malice could not have been employ'd against Men, who value it less, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *They* may do, because *They* are falsely and maliciously accused; but *He*, who is the Object of a just Clamour and of national Hatred, and who cannot turn his Eyes on Himself, without confessing to Himself that He is a principal Cause of the Grievances of his Country, must tremble at a Clamour, which He knows ought, and which He hath Reason to fear will, sooner or later, prevail against Him.

The Calumny against *one* of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confined to *two Heads*; that He hath *left his Friends and Party*, and that He is urged to *oppose the M———r by the Stings of disappointed Ambition*. How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can such Stuff impose? Hath He chang'd his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government?

ment? Hath He renounced the Principles of good Policy, which He formerly profess'd? His greatest Enemy is defy'd to shew that He hath; and yet unless This can be shewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more silly than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends* and *Party*. If He pursues the same general Principles of Conduct, with which He first set out, and is in Opposition now to some few of *Those*, with whom He concurred then, *They* have left Him, because *They* have left the *Principles* *They* professed. *He* left *neither*. For Instance, He inveighs against *publick Profusion* and *private Corruption*. He combats *both* with a constant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the best Times of that Commonwealth. Hath He left his *Friends* in doing This? No; *They*, who oppose Him in it, have left both *Him* and *Virtue*; and *such Men*, tho' *They* have sometimes had the Honour to concur with *Him*, could never be his *Friends*.

Is the *latter Part* of the Charge better founded? Is it not a manifest begging of the Question, and a begging of it on the least probable Side? He assisted a *M——r* to rise to Power. He opposes *this M——r* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spight* and *Resentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuse*, which He apprehends this *M——r* makes of his *Power*, may not *Measures*, which He fears are wicked; knows are weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives? May not *dangerous Ambition*, *insatiable Avarice* and *insolent Behaviour* be his Provocations? May not *this Gentleman* think Himself the more obliged to contribute to *this M——r's* Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation? Let me ask farther, *whom* We shall soonest suspect to have been actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*; the *Person accused*, or his *Accuser*? *Whose Circumstances* most demanded, *whose Family* most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune; *Those of the Accused*, or *Those of the Accuser*?

Accuser? Who hath given greater Proofs of *Avarice* to gather and *Profusion* to squander; the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*? In *whom* have We seen stronger Evidences of that *vindictive Temper*, which prompts to *personal Spight* and *Resentment*; in the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*? — If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accused*, there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that his *Opposition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Design of pushing himself into the *Administration*. He hath already possessed *two very considerable Employments* in the State; *one* of which He voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, against some Measures of the *Court*, He forced the *Ministers* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unspotted Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly inform'd of his Resolution by Those, who seem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greatest Man in *England*, or of the best Friend he has in the World, to persuade him to accept of a *Third*.—There is an *Ambition*, with which *these Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Masters* are intirely unacquainted; the *Ambition* of *doing good* and the receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He, who hath *this Ambition*, can never be disappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country, hath Reason to be satisfied with his Success in the Pursuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman*, of whom We speak.

Whenever the *Defamation*, which hath been *display'd* against the *other Gentleman* is examined with the least Knowledge of Facts, or the least Impartiality of Judgment, it will appear equally false, and perhaps still more scandalous; for, in *this Case*, the *Slanderers* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which They have not in the *other*; the Advantage, which his singular Situation gives them. They, who would have declin'd a Contest with Him, whilst He was in a Condition to answer for Himself, have not blush'd to declaim against Him in another Condition. They have experienced, in *his Case*, that
the

the *unfortunate* are not *friendless*. They may live, perhaps, to experience, in *their own*, that the *guilty* are so.—Another Advantage, which *these Slanderers* take against *this Gentleman*, arises from the various Scenes of Life, through which He hath passed; some distant in Place; some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more Room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend. Common Honesty, in some Cases, and even Decency, in others, shut the Mouth of the Man, who carries these Qualities about Him; and even more in his *own Cause* than in That of *another Person*; but Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and We speak on our own Knowledge, when We affirm that, in the *present Case*, the false Imputations, which the *Accusers* bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accused*.

Let us take Notice of some of the Crimes, (for Crimes and heinous Crimes They would be, if the Facts were, in any Degree, true) which are laid to the Charge of *this Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin stand first in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more sincerely than He the superior Merit of these *two illustrious Men*, or wishes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation*, of *Gratitude* or *Honour*, which He lay under to continue in their Administration, when the *Measures* of it were alter'd. They might have Reasons, perhaps good Reasons, for *altering their Measures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever He might have had in Point of *Interest*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on *such a Foot*, that They might think it Preferment to be the *Creatures* of *any Men in Power*. He, who came into it upon
another

another Foot, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of these *great Men*, and He hath had the Satisfaction of proving Himself such on different Occasions and without Ostentation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time, when the *Creatures of great Men* usually renounce them; at a Time, when They could do Him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court, on the Call of the *late Queen*; in opposition to *Them*, and exerted Himself in her Service, when They serv'd Her no longer, will not be objected to Him by any Man, who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Minister*. If the *present M———r* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, He hath my Consent; but then let Those, who engage with Him, remember on what Terms They engage. — On the same false Principle is *another Accusation* brought. *This Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroness, but the *late Queen*. He neither projected, nor procured the Disgrace of her *last Minister*, nor knew that it was resolv'd, whatever He might suspect, till He heard from Herself that it was so. Much more might be said on this Article; but We chuse to pass it over for many Reasons and, among others, for This; that whilst We defend the *living*, We are unwilling to say any Thing, which might be drawn by *these Slanderers* into an Insult on the *dead*.

The last Charge of *Ingratitude*, brought against *this Gentleman*, is hard to be answer'd seriously. Thus much however shall be said truly and seriously. He acknowledges, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible, the Clemency and Goodness of his *late Majesty*; but sure He hath Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *M———r*. The Mercy of the *late King* was extended to Him unask'd and unearn'd. What follow'd many Years afterwards, in Part of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, was due solely to the *King*. That They were not fulfill'd, was due solely to the *M———r*. His
Ambition,

Ambition, his causeless Jealousy and private Interest continued a sort of *Proscription*, with much Cruelty to the *Person* concern'd, and little Regard to the *Declarations*, which his *royal Master* had been pleased so frequently to make.

That *this Gentleman* was engaged in the Cause of the *Pretender*, is true. That He served Him unfaithfully, is false. He never entered into *these Engagements*, or any *Commerce with Him*, till He had been *attainted*, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. He never had any *Commerce*, either direct or indirect, which was inconsistent with *these Engagements*, whilst He continued in them; and since He was out of them, He hath had no *Commerce*, either direct or indirect, in Favour of *that Cause*. On such an Occasion as This it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore, in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one single Proof, in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations. For the Truth of some, I may appeal even to *Those*, who have been in the Service of his *late*, and are in That of his *present Majesty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who by the Post He was in, when most of these Transactions passed, must have had the best Opportunities of knowing the Truth of them, and by whose Testimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend should stand or fall; a Decision to which, I am sure, He will Himself be ready to submit his Life and, what is more, his Honour.

I make you no Excuse for the Length of my Letter. The Justice I have done, or endeavour'd to do, to *Those*, who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occasion of *your Writings* and of *mine*, will be a sufficient Excuse of it self,

I am, SIR, &c.

H. OLDCASTLE.



THE
INDEX

TO THE

Seventh Volume.

A.

Administration; some Remarks on a Pamphlet, intitled, *a Defence of the Measures of the Administration*, 285.

Alliance (*Treaties* of) the Danger of them, 174—
Some Rules for entering into *Alliances*, *ib.*—The
Difference of *Islands* and Nations on the *Continent*,
with Regard to *Alliances*, 257.

Anglo-Germanicus; his Letter of Congratulation to
Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the Treaty lately sign'd at *Vien-*
na, 315.

VOL. VII.

M m

Anjou

The INDEX.

Anjou (Duke of) why *Queen Elizabeth* broke off the Match with Him, 236.

Aristotle; his Opinion concerning *Government*, 177.

Armies (*standing*) the Danger of them, 108, 112, 207—Contended for by a certain *ministerial Writer*, 287—A Proposal for *limiting* the Time of Service in the *Army*, 291—Farther Remarks on the Recommendation of them, 345.

Augustus (the *Roman Emperor*) some Remarks on his Reign and Conduct, 35.

Austria; the Danger of guarantying the *Emperor's* hereditary Dominions there, 353.

Authority, an Enemy to Truth, 99.

B.

Bacon (Lord) his Observations on *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, 200.

Ballance (of the *British* Constitution) in what it consists, 85.

Barons (*English*) how They lost their Power, 120, 158, 185.

Blenheim; the monumental Inscription there, to the Memory of his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, 362.

Bohemia (*Frederick*, King of) how his Cause affected *England*, 303—Farther Remarks on that Affair, 376, 385.

Boulogne; how lost to *England*, 235.

Britain; the Freedom of its original Constitution, 49—How it was settled on its present Foundation, after the *Norman* Conquest, 53—How *Queen Elizabeth* consulted the Interest of *Britain*, 234, 255—Represented in a *declining State*, by a late *Court-writer*, 289.

*Buckingham** (*Villars*, Duke of) some Account of his Conduct, 386—His Character, 392.

The INDEX.

C.

- C**æsar (*Julius*) the Error of his Murderers, 20.
- Calais ; how lost to *England*, 235.
- Camillus ; his Case misrepresented by the cursory Observer in the *daily Courant*, 34.
- Charles (the first, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Conduct, 259, 307—Farther Remarks on his Reign, 389.
- Charta (*magna*) sign'd by King *John* and *Henry* the 3d, 53.
- Church (of *England*) the Excellency of her Institution, 297.
- Cicero, an Incendiary, 41.
- Clarendon (Earl of) Remarks on his wrong Censure pass'd on the Conduct of the Parliament in the Year 1621, 387.
- Clergy (*English*) how They lost their Power, 120, 158, 185—Their Conduct, in the Reign of King *James* the first, condemn'd, 373.
- Cloak (the, a Tale) 203.
- Commons (of *Great-Britain*) by what Means they acquir'd their present Power in the State, 120, 158, 184.
- Commonwealths ; how *Liberty* is secur'd under them, 10.
- Constitution (*British*) its original Freedom, 49—How it was settled on its present Foundation, after the *Norman* Invasion, 53.—How only it can be destroyed, 84—The Nature of the *British* Constitution farther explain'd, 85.
- Continent ; the Advantages of *Islands* over Nations on the Continent, 255.
- Controversies ; the Liberty of them asserted, both in Church and State, 99.

The INDEX.

Corruption, recommended by the *Court-writers*, 23, 344, 360.

Courant (daily): some Remarks on a Letter publish'd in that Paper, 27—Remarks on another Letter, publish'd in that Paper, against Mr. *Oldcastle*, 31—Remarks on another, against the same, 43 — On another, intitled, *some Reflections on the Regn of Henry the 6th*, 123—On another, on the Subject of suffering the *French* to recruit in *Ireland*, 160.

D.

D *anes*, conquer *England*, 51.

D'Anvers (Caleb) a Defence of his Writings, 5—Farther defended, 14—Charg'd with *Jacobitism* in the *daily Courant*, 27—Some Remarks on that Paper, *ibid.*—Some Remarks on the Writers against Him, 32—His Observations on the Writings of Mr. *Oldcastle*, 39—Why his Papers sell better than the *London-Journal*, 55 — Justifies Himself against that Paper, 65 — Some farther Remarks on the Writers against Him, 120, 130 — His Animadversions on a late Project for allowing the *French Regiments* to recruit in *Ireland*, 139 — Farther Animadversions on the Writers against Him, 148—His farther Remarks on the Subject of the *Irish Recruits*, 160—Some Instances of his publick Services, 179 — His Reflections on Mr. *Francklin's* being taken up for publishing his Papers, 226—He defends Himself for publishing a Letter from the *Hague*, 249, 275—Some Remarks on a Pamphlet addressed to Him, occasion'd by his *proper Reply*, 286—Congratulated on the *Treaty* sign'd at *Vienna*, 315—A great *Man* makes his Acknowledgments to Him on the same Occasion, 348.— Mr. *Oldcastle's* concluding Letter to Him, in Vindication of his Writings against the Writings of his *Adversaries*, 395.—

Defamation

The INDEX.

Defamation (*display'd*, a Pamphlet so call'd) some Reflections upon it, 226.

Demosthenes ; an *Incendiary*, 41.

Dependency (of the *Parliament* on the *Crown*) recommended by the Court-writers, 23—The Danger of it, 328, 339, 344—Asserted by the *Court-writers*, 360.

Dog (*and Fox*, a Fable,) 231.

Dudley ; some Remarks on his Actions and Punishment, 133.

E.

E*dward* (the 2d, King of *England*) by what ruin'd, 62.

Edward (the 3d, King of *England*) Mr. *Oldcastle's* Remarks on his Reign, 59—Libel'd by the *London-Journal*, 76.

Edward (the 4th, King of *England*) an Account of two arbitrary Prosecutions in his Reign, 94—Farther Remarks on his Reign, 104—Upon what Terms and in what Manner He ascended the Throne, 111.

Edward (the 6th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 157.

Elections (of Members of Parliament) regulated, 83—The Liberty of them attempted by King *James*, 327.

Elizabeth (Queen of *England*) some Remarks on her Reign, 159—Farther Remarks on her Reign, 182, 194, 205, 234, 255—The wisdom of her Conduct, with Regard to the *Reformation*, 296.

Emperor (of *Germany*) upon what Terms We ought to make an Alliance with Him, 353.

Empson ; some Account of his Actions and Punishment, 133.

England (Church of) the Excellency of her Institution, 297.

The INDEX.

English (John) his Letter to Mr. D'Anvers, with some Remarks on *three ministerial Pamphlets*, 285. *Epigrams*; on a *certain great Doctor*, 315 — Another on the same, 322 — On the late Treaty of *Vienna*, 348.

F.

F*Abii*; their Conduct occasion'd the Invasion of the *Gauls*, 34.

Faction; the *Spirit of it* contradistinguish'd from the *Spirit of Liberty*, 10 — The same Subject farther explain'd, 16 — How the *Spirit of Faction* destroy'd the *Roman Government*, 18 — Farther defin'd and apply'd to Men in Power, 29 — Farther Remarks upon it, 42, 57, 65 — How it prevail'd at Court, in the Reign of *Richard II.*, 71 — The Subject of *Faction* and *Liberty* farther explain'd, 77, 81, 92 — How encourag'd by *Edward the 4th's Queen*, 104 — And by *Henry the 7th.*, 115 — Farther Remarks upon *Faction*, 128 — How encourag'd in *Queen Mary the first's* Reign, 158 — Farther Remarks on *Liberty* and *Faction*, 190 — How *Queen Elizabeth* manag'd *Factions*, 209 — Farther Remarks on *Liberty* and *Faction*, 267, 278, 307. — 394 — 396. —

Ferdinand (Emperor of *Germany*) how supported against the *Elector Palatine*, 377, 385.

Fleet (of *England*) how improved by *Queen Elizabeth*, 214.

Fog (Mr.) some Reflections on his Paper of the 6th of *June*, 1730, 24.

Fox (and *Dog*, a Fable) 231.

Foxhunters (*British*) abus'd by one of the *ministerial Writers*, 286.

France; Animadversions on a late Project for allowing the *Irish* Regiments, in the Service of *France*,

The INDEX.

to recruit in *Ireland*, 139—Farther Reflections on that Subject, 160, 179, 193—Some Remarks on Queen *Elizabeth's* Conduct towards that Crown, 242, 263—Some suspicious Symptoms in their present Conduct towards *England*, 320—What We may expect from them, since the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Vienna*, 356.— some Remarks on the Marriage of King *Charles the first*, and a Daughter of that Crown, 390.—

Francklin (*Richard*) taken up for publishing the *Craftsman*, 226.

Frederick (*Electoꝛ Palatine*) how his Cause affected *England*, 303 — Farther Remarks on that Affair, 376.

Freshman (*John*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in answer to the *London Journal*, 268.

G.

Gauls; what occasion'd their Invasion of *Rome*, 34.

George (the 2d, King of *Great-Britain*) how He supported the Rights of his *German* Subjects against the King of *Prussia*, 144—His Wisdom in refusing the *French* Leave to recruit in *Ireland*, 193.

Government; what Care all Governments have taken to preserve their Constitution, 8—Some Remarks on the *British* Constitution of Government, *ib* — What are the best Kind of Governments, according to *Machiavel*, 16 — Some Reflections on the *Roman* Government and how it was destroy'd, 17 —Remarks on the original Freedom of the *English* Government, 49—How settled, after the *Norman* Conquest, 53—The Nature of the *English* Government explain'd, 85—The Difference between *limited* and *absolute* Governments in forming *Treaties* and *Alliances*, 176—Some Remarks on the present Constitution of our Government, 185, 399.

Grievances,

The INDEX.

Grievances, of the Nation, under King *James* the first, 337.

Guaranties ; the Danger of them, 353—Particularly of the *Austrian* Dominions, *ibid.*

H.

H *Ague* (*Letter*, publish'd in the *Craftsman*) defended, 249, 275, 319, 351.

Hampton-Court ; some Account of the Conference there, in King *James* the first's Time, 370.

Hanover ; how the present Case of those People differs from That of the People of the *Palatinate* in King *James* the first's Time, 380.

Henry (the 3d, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 53.

Henry (the 4th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 80.

Henry (the 5th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 82.

Henry (the 6th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 82—Farther Remarks upon his Reign, in answer to the *daily Courant*, 123.

Henry (the 7th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 115—Farther Remarks upon it, 185.

Henry (the 8th, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 132—Farther Remarks upon it, 151.

Heretoges (*Saxon*) some Account of them, 50.

High-Commission (*Court*) some Remarks upon it, 206.

History (*English*) some brief Remarks upon it from the earliest Accounts to the *Norman* Conquest, 49

—From the Conquest to the Reign of *Edward* the 3d, 51 — Remarks on that Reign, 59 — On the

Reign of *Richard* the 2d, 70—On the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, 80—The Design of these Remarks

explain'd and justify'd, 91—Remarks on the Reign of *Henry* the 6th, 82—And *Edward* the 4th, 104

—These Remarks farther vindicated, 113 — Remarks

The INDEX.

marks on the Reign of *Henry* the 7th, 115—Farther Remarks on the Reign of *Henry* the 6th, in answer to the *daily Courant*, 123—The Design of these Remarks farther justify'd, 130—Remarks on the Reign of *Henry* the 8th, 132—Farther Remarks on the Reign of *that Prince*, 151—Remarks on the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, 182—Farther Remarks on her Reign, 194, 205, 234—Remarks on the Reign of King *James* the first, 277, 293, 305, 323, 335—One good Effect of these Remarks, 359—Farther Remarks on the Reign of King *James* the first, 369, 382.—Mr. *Oldcastle's* Justification of these Remarks, 395.—*Holland*; the Conduct of King *James* the first towards that State, 375.
Honour; how Princes ought to preserve it, 172.

I.

Jacobites; the Vanity of their Expectations at this Time, 25.
James (the 1st, King of *England*) some Account of his Conduct in *Scotland*, 261—Remarks on his Conduct in *England*, 277—Farther Remarks on his Reign, 293, 305, 323, 335 369, 382.
Incendiaries (political) some Reflections upon them, 40—The Character of an honest Incendiary, *ib.*
Independency (of the *Parliament* on the *Crown*) asserted and explain'd, 84.
Innuendos; some Reflections upon them, 94, 148.
Inscription, to the Memory of his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Blenheim*, 362.
John (King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 52.
Journal (*London*) some Remarks upon it, 35, 55, 65, 76, 84, 90, 98, 122, 177, 227, 249, 268, 290.
Ireland; some Reflections on a late Design of allowing the *French* to recruit there, 139—Farther Reflections

The INDEX.

ons on that Subject, occasion'd by a Letter publish'd in the *daily Courant*, 160, 179, 193.
Islands; the Advantages of their Situation over Nations on the *Continent*, 255.

K.

KINGS; how They ought to preserve their Honour, 172.

L.

L *Ancaſter* (House of) ſome Remarks on the civil Wars between Them and the House of *York*, 82, 108, 114, 129.
Laud, (Arch-Biſhop) the conſequence of his raſh Conduct, 390.—
Lawyers; a Fable addreſs'd to them, 231.
Leti; ſome Reflections on a Speech attributed to General *Monk*, in his *History of Oliver Cromwel*, 24.
Letters; from *Humphry Oldcaſtle* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the *Spirit of Liberty* and *Faction*, 1—Mr. *Oldcaſtle's* ſecond Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers* on the ſame Subject, 14—His third Letter to the ſame, in Vindication of the former, againſt the *daily Courant* and the *London Journal*, 31—From *J. Trueman* to the ſame, on the *Westmiſter Militia*, 38—From *Phileleutherus Britannicus* to the ſame, in Juſtification of Mr. *Oldcaſtle's* Remarks on the *Engliſh History*, 113—From the ſame to the ſame, on the Writers againſt the *Craftſman*, 120—To Mr. *D'Anvers*, on *Mock-Politicians*, and the Rumour of a Negotiation at *Vienna*, 217—From *John Freſhman* to the ſame, in answer to the *London Journal*, 268—From *John Engliſh* to the ſame, with ſome Remarks on three miniſterial Pamphlets, 285—From *Tilbury* to the ſame, on the Caſe of the *Engliſh Army*, 291—From *Anglo-Germanicus* to

The I N D E X

- to the same, on the Treaty lately sign'd at *Vienna*, 315.— From Mr. *Oldcastle* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Justification of his Writings, against the Writings of his *Adversaries* ; 395.—
- Libellers* ; some Reflections upon them, 42 — The modern Doctrine of *Libels* examin'd and expos'd, 92 — Farther Remarks on that Subject, 148.
- Liberty* ; the old *English Spirit* of it recommended, 5 — Contradistinguish'd from the *Spirit of Faction*, 10 — Farther explain'd and enforc'd, 14 — This Doctrine of *Liberty* apply'd to the *Roman Government*, 17 — Farther defin'd, 29, 41 — Apply'd to the *English Government* through a Course of Papers, 49 — How it prevail'd under the *Danish*, *Saxon* and *Norman Governments*, 50, &c. — Mr. *Osborne's* Reflections on the Subjects of *Liberty* and *Faction*, 57 — How *Liberty* flourish'd under *Edward the 3d*, 59 — Farther Reflections on *Liberty* and *Faction*, 65, 73, 77 — How the *British Liberties* must be destroy'd, 84 — The Subject of *Liberty* and *Faction* farther examin'd, 92, 108, 128, 158 — How our *Liberty* was secur'd by the great Alteration in the *Ballance of Property*, 184 — What are the most dangerous Attacks upon *Liberty*, 207 — The Limitations necessary to secure *Liberty*, 246 — Farther Remarks on *Liberty* and *Faction*, 278, 307 — The *British Liberties* attempted by King *James the first*, 327 — How *Liberty* ought to be defend- ed, 345. — How attempted by King *Charles the first*, 392. — Farther Reflections on the Subject of *Liberty* and *Faction*, 394 — 396. —
- Livy*, misrepresented by the cursory Observator in the *daily Courant*, 34.

The INDEX.

M.

- M** *Achiavel* ; his Observations on Government, 16
 —Cavil'd at by the Author of a Paper in the
daily Courant, 33.
- Marlborough* . (*John Duke of*) his Character, 361—
 The monumental Inscription to his Memory, on a
 Pillar at *Blenheim*, 362.
- Mary* (the 1st, Queen of *England*) some Remarks on
 her Reign, 158.
- Mary* (Queen of *Scotland*) how supported, 198.
- Mazarine* (Cardinal) accus'd of Weakness, 221.
- Merchants* (*British*) how Queen *Elizabeth* protected
 them; 245—How neglected by King *James* the
 first, 312.
- Micklemote* (*Saxon*) the Power of that Assembly, 51.
- Militia* ; the Burthen and Usefulness of them, 38.
- Ministers* ; good ones ought not to be abus'd, 36 —
 Some Reflections on the Conduct of our present
Ministers, 57—How wicked *Ministers* may destroy
 a Nation, 67—Some Account of *Richard* the se-
 cond's *Ministers*, 72 — The King's Command no
 Justification of *Ministers*, 82 — Most Princes owe
 their Misfortunes to wicked *Ministers*, 92— Some
 Account of the Conduct of the Duke of *Suffolk*,
 Prime Minister to King *Henry* the 6th, 125—How a
 Prince ought to give his *Ministers* up to national Justice,
 133—The Character of a bad Minister exemplify'd
 in the Conduct of Cardinal *Wolsey*, 134—The pre-
 sent *Ministers* aspers'd by the *London Journal*, 177
 —Mr. *Oldcastle*'s Defiance to a certain great Mi-
 nister, 184—The Character of Queen *Elizabeth*'s
Ministers, 210—The Character of a Mock-Mini-
 ster, 217—An Eulogium on our present *Ministers*,
 222—Defended against the *London Journal*, 227—
 271—Another Eulogium on our present *Ministers*,
 285 — A certain great Minister acknowledges his
 Obli-

The INDEX.

Obligations to Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the Conclusion of the late *Vienna Treaty*, 348 — He repents and amends, 357.— The Character of a *bad Minister*, set forth in the Conduct of *Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, 386.

Moderation (*political*) what, 346.

Monarchy ; the Dangers, which attend *Liberty* in *limited Monarchies*, 10 — The Difference between *limited* and *absolute Monarchies*, in forming *Treaties* and *Alliances*, 176—The Advantages of a *limited Monarchy*, 188—The Excellency of it, 267.

Monk (General) some Reflections on a Speech, attributed to Him, 24.

N.

NORMANS ; how far They conquer'd *England*, 51.

O.

Observations (*on the present State of Affairs* ; a Pamphlet so call'd) some Remarks upon it, 288.

Observator (*curfory*, a Paper so call'd) some Remarks upon it, 31, 43.

Oldcastle (*Humphry*, Esq;) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the *Spirit of Liberty* and *Faction*, 1 — His second Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, on the same Subject, 14—His third Letter to the same, in Vindication of the former, against the *daily Courant* and the *London Journal*, 31 — Sends his *Minutes* to Mr. *D'Anvers*, to be digested into select Papers, 31—Mr. *D'Anvers's* Observations on his Writings, 40—His Remarks on the Writers against Mr. *Oldcastle*, 43—Mr. *Oldcastle's* Remarks on the original Constitution and History of *Britain*, from the earliest Accounts to

The INDEX.

the *Norman Conquest*, 49 — On the Reign of *William the first*, 51 — On Those of *Stephen* and *John*, 52 — On That of *Henry the 3d*, 53 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Edward the 3d*, 59 — On the Reign of *Richard the 2d*, 70 — Vindicated against the *London Journal*, 76 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Henry the 4th*, 80 — Asserts the Independency of the *executive* on the *legislative Power*, in answer to the *London Journal*, 85 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Edward the 4th*, 104 — A Letter in his Justification from *Phileleutherus Britannicus*, 113 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Henry the 7th*, 115 — The Design of his Remarks farther justify'd, 130 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Henry the 8th*, 132 — Farther Remarks on the Reign of *that Prince*, 151 — The Author of the *London Journal* makes Him a great Compliment, 181 — His Remarks on the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, 182 — His Defiance to a *certain great Minister*, 184 — Farther Remarks on the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, 194, 205, 234, 255 — His Remarks on the Reign of *King James the first*, 277, 293, 305, 323, 335 — One good Effect of these Remarks, 359 — Farther Remarks on the Reign of *King James the first*, 369, 382. — His concluding Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Justification of his Writings, against the Writings of his *Adversaries*, 395.

Osborne (the *Journalist*) some Remarks upon his Writings for *absolute Monarchy*, 35 — Farther Remarks upon his Writings, 55, 65, 76, 84, 90, 98, 122, 177, 227, 249, 268, 290.

P.

P *Alatine* (*Electors*) how his Cause affected *England*, 303. — Farther Remarks on that Affair, 376, 385. —

Para-

The I N D E X.

- Parallels*, the late Doctrine of them examin'd and expos'd, 92—148.— Farther Remarks on them, 398.
- Parliament*, their Dependence on the *Crown* recommended by the *Court-Writres*; 23— King *Richard* the 2d. packs a *Parliament*, 74— The Temper of the *Parliament*, during the civil Wars, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; 83.— Laws made to prevent the Influence of the *Crown*, on the Freedom of *Elections*; *ib*— How manag'd by *Henry* the 8th, 154.— Corrupted by *Mary* the first, 158.— How our *Parliaments* have gain'd Strength since *Henry* the 7th, 186.— *Csuntry Gentlemen* unfit for Members of *Parliament*, according to the ministerial *Writers*, 286.— The Liberty of *Parliament* attempted by King *James*, 328 — They represent their Grievances under that Prince, 328— The Mischiefs of a dependent *Parliament*, 339.— The Conduct of the *Parliaments* in the Reign of King *James* the first, vindicated; 380—382,
- Parties*, how manag'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, 208— And by King *James* the first, 369 — The great Influence of Party Prejudices, 391.
- Peele* (*John*, the Publisher) an older offender against the Government than Mr. *Francklin*, 276.—
- Philip* (the 2d. King of *Spain*) some Remarks on his Conduct in *England*, 235.— How Queen *Elizabeth* behav'd towards Him, 240—260.—
- Phileleutherus* (*Britannicus*) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, in Vindication of Mr. *Oldcastle's* Remarks on the *English History*; 113 — His second Letter to the same, on the *Writers* against Him; 120.—
- Plato*, his Opinion concerning Governments; 177.
- Patriotism*, an *History* of it promis'd, 359 —
- Poems*, the *Cloak*, a Tale; 203.— On the Treaty of *Vienna*, in the Year 1731; 216 — The *Dog and the Fox*, a Fable; 231.— An Epigram on a certain

The INDEX

- tain great Doctor, 315.— Another on the same, 322.— On the late Treaty of *Vienna*, 348.—
- Politician, the Character of a *Mock-Politician*; 217.
- Popery, encourag'd by King *James the first*; 337.—
How first establish'd, 342.—
- Press, the Liberty of it asserted, 3, 246.—
- Pretender, the vanity of his Hopes at this Time, 25 — How the *Irish* Regiments, in the service of *France*, are devoted to his Interest; 142.— Farther Reflections on that Subject, 161.—
- Princes, how they ought to preserve their Honour; 172.—
- Prussia (King of) invades the Rights of his *Britannick* Majesty's German Subjects, 144.—
- Puritans, (the Party so call'd) how King *James the first* increas'd their Numbers, and gave them Strength; 370.—

R.

- R**eformation (of Religion in *England*) how carry'd on; 294.—
- Retz (Cardinal) his Observation on Cardinal *Maxarine*, 221.—
- Revolution (in the Year 1688) what Principles it hath introduc'd into this Nation, 26.— How far it hath improved our Constitution, 66 —
- Richard (the second, King of *England*) Mr. *Oldcastle's* Remarks on his Reign, 70.—
- Richard (the third, King of *England*) some Remarks on his Reign, 115.—
- Richmond (Earl of) advanced to the Throne of *England*, 115.—
- Right (hereditary to the Crown of *England*) the Folly of that Pretension, 323.—
- Rome, some Reflections on the wise Institutions of that Government, 17.— How it was destroy'd, 18.—
Farther

The I N D E X.

Farther Reflections upon this Subject, in answer to
a Paper in the *Daily-Courant*; 33.—

S.

- S***Axons*, some Account of their Government, 50..
Scotland, how Queen *Elizabeth* behav'd to-
wards that Kingdom; 260.
Scots, the Reason of their rising in Rebellion against
King *Charles* the first, 393.
Sea, the Advantage of it to *Islands*, 256.—
Seville, (Treaty of) some Reflections upon it, 180—
247— 358.—
Somerſet, (Duke of, Protector of *England*, in *Edward*
the sixth's Reign) some Remarks on his Admini-
stration, 157.—
Spain, how Queen *Elizabeth* behav'd towards that
Crown; 240— 263.— How King *James* acted
towards them, 375.— Why the *English* Parlia-
ment preſſ'd that Prince to break with *Spain*,
382.—
Star-Chamber, some Remarks upon that Court, 206 —
Statesman, the Character of a *Mock-Statesman*, 217.—
Stephen (King of *England*) to what He owed his
Crown, 52.—
Suffolk (Duke of) how He contributed to the Ruin
of *Henry* the 6th, 125.—

T.

- T***Axes*; how granted to Queen *Elizabeth* and
apply'd by Her, 212.
Tilbury; his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, concerning the
Caſe of the *English Army*, 291.
Trade; how encourag'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, 214—
And protected, 245 — How neglected by King
James the first, 312.

The INDEX.

Treaty-making ; the Mischief of it in an *ignorant Minister*, 219.

Treaties ; how it is the Interest of Princes to observe them, 172—Some Rules for entering into *Treaties*, *ibid.*—The Difference between *Islands* and Nations on the *Continent*, with Regard to *Treaties*, 257.

Trueman (J.) his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers*, concerning the *Westminster Militia*, 38.

U.

U*ienna* (Treaty of, in the Year 1731) Verses upon it, 216—Some Questions about it, 223—Farther Reflections upon it, in answer to the *London Journal*, 227, 249, 275—A Letter of Congratulation to Mr. *D'Anvers*, on that Occasion, 315—An Epigram upon it, 348—Farther Remarks upon it, *ibid.*

Union (of *England* and *Scotland*) why King *James* the first could not accomplish it, 332.

W.

W*alsingham* (the *Court-writer*) promises us an *History of Patriotism*, 359.

Wickliffe, the first Reformer, 61.

William (the Conqueror) some Remarks on his Reign, 51.

Whitgift (Archbishop) his Flattery of King *James* the first, 370.

Wittagenmote (*Saxon*) the Power of that Assembly, 51.

Wolfey (Cardinal) Remarks on his Conduct, 135.

Writers (*Court*) some Remarks upon them, 27, 32, 43, 68, 87, 91, 98, 120, 130, 148, 179, 183, 246, 268, 285, 317, 344, 352, 395.

The I N D E X.

Y.

Y O R K (House of) some Remarks on the civil Wars between them and the House of *Lancaster*, 82, 108, 114, 125. .

F I N I S.









